

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN INDIA

J. P. NAIK



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PREFACE

THE papers included in this book hardly need an apology for their publication. The study of educational planning as a discipline is fairly recent and the literature available on the subject is meagre everywhere and particularly in India. I have, therefore, ventured to place these papers before a larger audience interested in educational planning in the hope that they might stimulate further thinking in this important field.

I must make one point clear. The papers included in this volume were written during the latter half of 1963 and the first half of 1964 when the preliminary thinking about the fourth Five Year Plan had just started and I had not yet taken over my present responsibility as Member-Secretary of the Education Commission. I must, however, make it clear that the views expressed here are personal to me and do not represent the thinking in the Education Commission.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to Shri R.N. Sachdev of the Allied Publishers but for whose patience and perseverance this book would not have seen the light of the day.

J. P. NAIK

New Delhi
14th April, 1965

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FIRST EXERCISES IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING (1938-44)

NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE (1938)

WHEN the Congress assumed office in nine out of the eleven provinces of British India in 1937, after the introduction of provincial autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, and its acceptance of office at the Centre seemed only a matter of few years, it was felt that steps should be taken to prepare a comprehensive plan of national development in all its aspects. Accordingly, the National Planning Committee was appointed in 1938, under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and began its work early in 1939. For education, which was one of the important sectors under its consideration, two sub-committees were appointed—one for general education under the Chairmanship of Dr. Radhakrishnan and the other for technical education and developmental research under the Chairmanship of Dr. M.N. Saha. Unfortunately, the work of the National Planning Committee and its sub-committees could not progress satisfactorily. Pandit Nehru was arrested in 1940 and, under the stress of political events, neither he nor the other members of the committee could devote adequate attention to its work till 1947 when it was practically wound up. The sub-committee on General Education prepared a broad and a tentative report which was considered by the National Planning Committee; but the report of the sub-committee on Technical Education and Development of Research could not even be considered. The General Secretary of the Committee, however, brought out a volume on Education in 1948 containing a broad outline of whatever work had been done in planning educational development.¹ Partly because the reports of the sub-committees could not be finalised and partly because the Plan for Post-War Educational Development in India prepared by the Central

¹ The National Planning Committee: *Education*, Vohra & Co., Bombay, 1948, pp. 209

Advisory Board of Education was already published in 1944, the work of the National Planning Committee did not have any impact on educational planning in India. Its main significance is historical: it was the first organisation to think of preparing a plan of educational development as a part of an over-all plan of socio-economic development.

THE SARGENT PLAN (1944)

Side by side with the National Planning Committee, an official agency, the Central Advisory Board of Education (which was originally established in 1921, dissolved in 1923 and revived in 1935) also took up the problem of educational reconstruction in India. Between 1938 and 1943, it appointed a number of committees to examine the different aspects of educational reconstruction such as basic education, adult education, welfare of school children, school buildings, recruitment, training and conditions of service of teachers and technical education. Originally, there was no concept of evolving a comprehensive plan of educational development; but when the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India directed in 1943, that a plan of post-war development should be prepared for all sectors, including education, these studies came in handy; and thanks mainly to the imagination, initiative and drive of Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Commissioner to the Government of India, all these different studies were welded together, the blanks were properly filled, and a comprehensive plan of educational development in India was prepared and presented to the Central Advisory Board of Education in January 1944.² The Board also approved it with slight modifications. This document, popularly known as the Sargent Plan, is the first comprehensive plan of educational development ever to be prepared in the country. While this reflects credit on Sir John Sargent and his colleagues, it is unfortunate that, even after a lapse of twenty years, it is still the only document available on the subject.

The broad outline of this plan may be briefly indicated. It proposed the evolution of a national system of education in India which would be comparable with standards already attained in Great Britain and other Western countries before the war. At

² For details, see *Post-war Educational Development in India*, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 1944.

the lower end of this system, there was to be a system of pre-primary education for children in the age-group 3-6 which would ultimately cover one million children or one in every 21 of the age-group. In urban areas, separate nursery schools were to be established; while in rural areas, nursery classes were to be attached to primary schools. All pre-primary schools were to be free and no pains were to be spared to make them as attractive as possible with the object of persuading parents to send their children voluntarily.³ For the next stage, elementary education, it was proposed that free and compulsory education of the basic type should be provided for all children in the age-group 6-14. Every teacher was to be a matriculate with two years of training and was to receive a decent scale of pay and adequate old-age benefits. Provision was also to be made for welfare services such as school meals and school health and for the construction and supply of buildings and equipment on an adequate scale. It was estimated that facilities would have to be created for 360 lakhs of children to be enrolled in junior basic schools (classes I-V) and for 156 lakhs of children to be enrolled in senior basic schools (classes VI-VIII).⁴ For the secondary stage, the Plan proposed the establishment of high schools having a six-year course (classes VI-XI, corresponding to the age-group 11-17) of two types: academic and technical. The admission to these institutions was to be highly selective and it was suggested that one child in every five who completes the junior basic school should be selected, on the basis of his capacity and promise, for admission to secondary schools. In order that no poor child of ability may be excluded, assistance was to be provided in the form of free places, scholarships and stipends, available throughout the course, for 50 per cent of the children. As at the elementary stage, provision was also made for the appointment of properly qualified, well-paid and well-trained teachers and for buildings, equipment and welfare services to children. It was estimated that facilities would have to be created for 7.25 million children in secondary schools—3.91 million at the middle school stage and 3.34 million at the high school stage. In the field of

³ The above provisions were suggested for pre-primary schools to be conducted in the public sector. In addition, it was also visualised that private enterprise would provide pre-primary schools on a fair scale.

⁴ This excludes 39 lakhs (or 25 per cent of the total children in the age-group) who were recommended for transfer to the middle departments of secondary schools.

higher education, the same principle of selective admissions was adopted and it was recommended that one student out of every fifteen who complete the secondary school should be admitted to the universities. It was also suggested that the four-year university course which then existed could be converted into a three-year degree course and that the first year of the intermediate could be added on to the high schools.⁵ As at the secondary stage, adequate provision was proposed for financial assistance to poor students of capacity, for maintenance of high standards and for the establishment of a University Grants Committee. It was estimated that facilities would have to be provided for an enrolment of 240,000 students at the university stage in the courses of general and professional education taken together. The Plan also recommended adequate provision of technical education, both at the secondary and university level, in order to meet the needs of industry and commerce for skilled technicians and middle-level man-power. In the field of adult education, the Plan visualised the liquidation of mass illiteracy in a programme spread over 25 years and designed to make about 90 million adults literate. It also recommended the development of libraries and suggested that the possibility of making a period of social service obligatory on all students in universities and pupils in the upper forms of high schools should be carefully examined. The emphasis laid in the Plan on the training of teachers necessarily implied the establishment of an adequate number of training institutions of high quality at all levels. In addition it proposed to make adequate provision for the education of the handicapped, provision of adequate facilities for recreation and social service, organisation of youth welfare programmes, establishment of employment bureaux and strengthening and improvement of the State Education Departments.

It is very unusual in India for an educational report to cost its recommendations, the usual attitude adopted being that the only concern of the educationists is to state what is good for education in the pious hope that *somebody, some day, somehow* will find the money required to translate it into practice. The Sargent Plan, however, departed from this time-honoured

⁵ It is not very clear whether this transfer would have resulted in increasing the duration of the high schools to 12 years. All that the Report observes is that the standard of attainment at the end of the high school stage should be that of the then intermediate level.

tradition and costed its recommendations as shown in the following table:

(in thousands)			
	Estimated gross annual expenditure	Estimated income from sources other than public funds	Estimated net expenditure to be met from public funds
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Basic (Primary and Middle) Education	2000,000	—	2000,000
2. Pre-Primary Education	32,000	—	32,000
3. High School Education	790,000	290,000	500,000
4. University Education	96,000	29,000	67,000
5. Technical, Commercial and Art Education	100,000	20,000	80,000
6. Adult Education	30,000	—	30,000
7. Training of Teachers	62,000	17,000	45,000
8. School Medical Service	—	—	—
9. Education of the Handicapped	—	—	—
10. Recreative and Social Activities	10,000	—	10,000
11. Employment Bureaux	6,000	—	6,000
12. Administration	—	—	—
Total	3126,000	356,000	2770,000

Some explanation is necessary to understand these estimates in their proper perspective. They were based on the pre-second world war level of prices and will have to be adjusted for any subsequent rise in them. Secondly, they were based on an estimated population of 290 million (for the whole of India, except for Baluchistan and the Princely States) and no allowance was made for any increase in population, although the period to be covered by the Plan was deemed to extend over 40 years. The estimates should, therefore, be treated as valid for a population of 290 million only, which implies that, if the proposals of the Plan were to be implemented in full, their total cost would be about Rs. 11 per capita of population at the pre-second world war level. It is also necessary to point out that the estimates of cost given by the Plan are only for recurring expenditure and although they include an amount of 5 per cent for sinking fund charges, the heavy capital costs generally involved in a programme of educational development have not been included therein.

Two other features of the Plan that have an important bearing on the fundamental issues involved in educational planning have to be pointed out. The first is that it did not prepare a detailed programme for reaching the goals of educational development which it postulated and contended itself by suggesting that the first five years should be devoted to planning, propaganda and provision of the institutions necessary for the training of teachers and that thereafter, the whole programme should be divided into seven five-year plans, during each of which an area or areas of adequate size should be selected and fully developed as recommended in the Plan. This unusual approach of intensive development of one area after another has obvious administrative weaknesses and could be politically most inconvenient, especially in a democracy. Its educational basis also is not very sound. But the Plan did not work out the details of any alternative phased programme. The second important feature is the inadequate attention given to the financial aspects of the Plan. As pointed out earlier, the very effort to cost its proposals was a gain. But this should have been followed up in greater detail and the Plan should have suggested the manner in which the huge expenditure involved in its recommendations could be raised and also the manner in which the total cost was to be shared between the Centre and the States (inclusive of local bodies). The Plan did not work out these details at all and merely observed that additional funds would be available to education only as the general economy improved, that it was necessary to reconsider drastically the whole basis on which education was financed, and that, in dividing the cost of education between the Centre and the States, regard would have to be paid to the variations in the revenue producing capacity of different areas. One feels that the financial problem, which is so vital to the success of the whole scheme, should have received greater attention.

THE PLAN SHELVED

The Sargent Plan naturally attracted considerable attention throughout the country. While its bold outlook and comprehensive character were generally welcomed, the principal criticism was that it was spread over too long a period. The Kher Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Educa-

tion, therefore, examined this matter and recommended that the Plan should be implemented in a period of 16 years instead of 40. But even with this modification, the Sargent Plan was never accepted as the basis of national educational development in India. Several factors were responsible for this result. The first was the natural prejudice against all plans of post-war development on the ground that they were prepared by an alien Government which was not in sympathy with national aspirations. The second was that the plan borrowed too heavily and too exclusively from the British system of education. In the post-independence period, the tendency to adopt British models in educational planning, which was so conspicuous in the earlier period, was definitely at a discount and the public opinion in the country now tended to adopt the American educational system as a basis of future educational development. The third and perhaps the most significant factor was that the fundamental recommendations and approaches of the Sargent Plan were so totally opposed to public sentiments and aspirations that it could not be 'sold' either to governments or to the public. For instance, the Plan recommended that the first five years of the programme should be devoted to preparation and that educational expansion as such should start from the sixth year. In 1947, when public enthusiasm had grown tremendously on account of the attainment of independence and people were beginning to demand things, here and now, and the new popular Governments were also anxious to provide social services long denied to the masses, this advice to postpone expansion for a period of five years was just brushed aside. In elementary education, the plan had emphasised the maintenance of standards and had taken the line that every teacher must be a matriculate and must have received good training for two years before he could be employed to open a new school or to expand the facilities in an existing school. In the enthusiasm that marked the attainment of Independence, this advice was unacceptable; and the people insisted on an immediate expansion of educational facilities, with quality, if possible, and without it, if necessary. Similarly, the proposal of the Plan to make selective admissions to secondary schools and colleges could not be accepted in a society where the hunger for education had deepened considerably, where the weaker strata, long

denied access to secondary and higher education, were coming into the picture for the first time, and where the American concept of 'secondary education for all' and 'collegiate education' for as many as possible was definitely being preferred to the British idea of higher education for the selected few. For these and other reasons, the Sargent Report was practically shelved while planning educational developments in the post-independence period; and it has, therefore, only an academic and historical significance at present.

LESSONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

To a student of Indian education, therefore, the main interest of the Sargent Plan lies, not in its achievements, but in the lessons it provides for educational planning. These deserve a detailed examination.

An educational plan cannot be made in a vacuum—it has to be integrally related to the social, economic, political and cultural background. The educational planner must, therefore, first ascertain what the goals of national development are and then design an educational programme which would assist in the realisation of these goals in the most effective and economical manner—both in time and money. The authors of the Sargent Plan, therefore, ought to have first tried to indicate the new social order they desired to create and then drawn up their educational proposals in the light of these national goals. But this could not obviously be done by the alien Government which was then in power. For instance, the plan does not discuss the problem of the national language at all; nor does it refer to the development of modern science and technology and rapid industrialisation for elimination of poverty. In the absence of this wider background against which it should have oriented itself, all that the plan proposed to do was to create in India, by about 1985, an educational system which would be comparable to 'that already attained in Great Britain and other Western countries before the war'. Obviously, this was not an inspiring approach. In contrast with this, one may quote the Report of the University Education Commission (1948-49) which orientates all its proposals to the creation of the new social order which the Constitution visualises⁶.

⁶ *Report of the University Education Commission*, Vol. I. Chapter II.

Another thing which stands out is the inadequacy of data which the framers of the Sargent Plan had. They did not have projections of population growth. They had no basis for visualising the type of economic development that would be attempted and of the probable growth in national income or dividend. They also had no idea of the manpower needs of development. They had hardly any data for relating the costs of education with either national income or public expenditure, and so on. In the absence of these data, the plan leaves a good deal to be desired. This is the second lesson that we learn—educational planning needs a large volume of educational, demographic, economic, occupational and other data and that a country which desires to plan its education in earnest must immediately set up appropriate agencies to collect all the data needed for successful planning. We cannot, however, blame the authors of the Plan for this deficiency. It is only very recently that we have realised the significance of these data and have established appropriate agencies to get them. This is an instance of the usual 'hind sight' for which later efforts at planning will succeed better but for whose absence we cannot blame this first attempt at educational planning.

There is a third important lesson to learn. Planning in a vast country like India where the responsibility for education is divided at so many points is not a *total* plan in which all aspects of the problem are fully controlled, but only a *restricted* exercise in the manipulation of a few key sectors. The authors of the Sargent Plan did not give due weight to this aspect and prepared a 'total plan' which could hardly have been implemented. For instance, the neat ratios of enrolment which the plan prescribed could not have worked out in practice under any circumstances. Such minute calculations may satisfy the pedants and create an illusion of accuracy; but they can never deliver the goods in the limited democratic planning that we can attempt.

But by far the greatest lesson of the plan is that, in certain situations, quality can be attended to only *after* a certain expansion is attained. The Sargent Plan highlighted quality, e.g., the preparation of good teachers and the maintenance of standards right from the start. In fact it is this emphasis on teachers and quality which forms the most distinctive feature of the plan, and it also had a peculiar relevance in the Indian situa-

tion where standards were very low. But the extent of expansion reached was also so meagre and the hunger for education was so great that it was mainly because of its neglect of expansion in early years that the Sargent Plan was discarded by the people.

OBJECTIVES OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

One need not regret the rejection of the Sargent Plan. But it has to be realised that this very rejection creates a new responsibility, viz., the preparation of another long-term plan of educational development which would be more in keeping with national aspirations. Unfortunately, we have signally failed in this responsibility also—a failure which has its own additional lessons for educational planners. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to examine what the objectives of a truly 'national' plan of educational development should be and why we have not yet been able to prepare a new long-term plan to realise them.

Obviously, this task would have to be attempted in two stages: (1) to define the goals of national development; and (2) to prepare an educational plan which would assist in achieving these goals in the best manner possible, in the shortest time, and with the least expense.

The first of these two steps was quickly taken and the goals of national development which had large educational implications, direct or indirect, were mostly identified by 1950 when the Constitution was adopted. The first of these was the adoption of democracy and adult franchise which implied the need to 'educate the masters' through a massive and short-range programme of liquidating adult illiteracy and spreading social education. It also implied, since 80 per cent of the electorate was rural, an emphasis on expansion of educational facilities in the rural areas and the elimination of the gulf which then existed, both in quantity and quality, between urban and rural education. The second was the commitment, under Article 45 of the Constitution, to provide, within a period of ten years, free and compulsory education to all children in the age-group 6-14; and although the Constitution is silent about the type of this education, the Centre and the States together decided that it should be of the basic type.⁷ The third was the decision to

⁷ This was probably the only part of the Sargent Plan which, with a curtailment of its period, came to be accepted as a basis of post-independence educational planning.

adopt Hindi (in Devanagiri script and with the international form of numerals) as the official language of the Union on a date not later than 1965. Directly, this implied a commitment to develop and enrich Hindi by preparing adequate scientific terminologies and producing the necessary literature in all sectors of higher learning and to propagate its knowledge and use in the non-Hindi areas. Indirectly, it meant that similar steps would also have to be taken to develop the other modern Indian languages, specially against the background of an equally irrevocable political commitment to reorganise the States on a linguistic basis.⁸ As later developments were to show, this decision had a still further implication necessitating the adoption of the three-language formula, which was bound to increase the costs of education and the language-learning load on all the students in the country. The fourth commitment was to provide equality of opportunity—social, cultural, economic, political and educational—to all the weaker sections of the community including women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Implied in this is also the commitment (when concessions or privileges are dissociated from caste) to provide special assistance to the economically weaker sections such as the landless agricultural labourers. Finally, the nation had also committed herself to create a new social order based on justice, elimination of poverty, and cultural freedom—a goal which has immense educational implications that have not yet been fully worked out in detail.

To these five national commitments, which have been incorporated in the Constitution itself, we may add two others which are indirectly implied in the Constitution but which came to be accepted explicitly a little later, and which also have immense educational implications. The first was the decision to secure

⁸ Another indirect and unfortunate implication of this decision was that English would either be eliminated or relegated to a very subordinate place in Indian life. This was, it may be admitted, never said explicitly in so many words. But in the background of the pre-independence hostility to all things English, this was precisely what many people tacitly understood; and the assumption was confirmed by the misguided attempts of some State Governments deliberately to undermine the study of English in educational institutions. Fortunately, saner ideas have since come to be accepted. One now talks, not of 'replacing English by Hindi', but of studying Hindi and English together; and English has also been given a Constitutional status as an associate official language. These modified views obviously have their own far-reaching implications regarding the status and teaching of English in schools and colleges—implications which have yet to be examined in all their details.

a rapid industrialisation of economy through the adoption of modern science and technology. This implied not only the cultivation of scientific and technological knowledge and skills, but also the building up of a scientific attitude in all men and women. The second was the decision to adopt socialism which also has large educational implications, the most important being two : (1) the provision of a minimum universal education for all children; and (2) the provision of the highest education possible to the talented ones, irrespective of caste, creed or sex.

In the British period, the objectives of the educational system were very restricted : to train personnel for administration; to create a *class* of educated persons; and to teach the English language and through it, to introduce the Indian people to the science and literature of the West. As compared with these, the new goals of national development are infinitely different and indicate a total revolution.

FAILURE TO CREATE A NEW PERSPECTIVE PLAN

With the identification of these goals of national development, the stage was set, as early as in 1950 or so, for the preparation of a new plan of long-term educational development which would have replaced the Sargent Plan. It is obvious that two essential steps were needed for this purpose. The first was to approach the problem *comprehensively* because education cannot be planned piece-meal; and the second was to carry out a *drastic reform* in the educational system which was necessitated by these revolutionary changes in the national objectives. But unfortunately, neither of these programmes was taken up. Instead of reviewing the educational system as a whole, an attempt was made to study it piece-meal, sector by sector, or scheme by scheme. For instance, a University Education Commission was appointed in 1948, and four years later another Commission was appointed for secondary education. An enquiry into elementary education at the national level is yet to be undertaken. Similarly, several aspects of the educational system such as scientific manpower needs, basic education, compulsory national service, etc., were reviewed through *ad hoc* committees from time to time. But even when they are taken together, they do not provide a total picture of what a national system of education should be.

This failure to take a comprehensive view of the educational problem and clarify the concept of a national system of education was only equalled by the unwillingness to make any revolutionary changes in the educational system. What has happened in the last sixteen years is merely an expansion of the earlier system with a few marginal changes in content and technique. These developments are sometimes justified on the ground that all the nationalistic talk of total unsuitability of the pre-independence educational system to national aspirations was 'moonshine', that the educational system under the British rule was fundamentally sound, and that it could serve the needs of free India also with a few changes and plenty of expansion. This is, however, a rationalisation which would be difficult to accept in theory; and the fact remains that the supreme intellectual effort that is needed to visualise a new educational system fully geared to the new national objectives has not yet been made.

This tragic failure, be it noted, has not been due to any lack of realisation. Even as early as 1948, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had observed, in his address to the Educational Conference convened by the Ministry of Education in 1948 : "Whenever conferences were called in the past to form a plan for education in India, the tendency as a rule was to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must keep pace with them. *The entire basis of education must be revolutionised.*" This was also not the first time when this sentiment was expressed. Ever since the Surat Congress, this is what the nationalist leaders had promised to do as soon as Swaraj or Independence was attained, and this is precisely what the people expected the national government to do on a high priority basis. Everyone, therefore, was aware of what had to be done, and the reasons for this sad failure have to be sought elsewhere.

In my opinion, the real reasons for this failure are three. The first is the general tutelage of the officers of the Education Departments and the Ministry of Education on whom ultimately rests the responsibility for educational planning. In the British period, their training had been not as original thinkers, but as obedient servants of the powers that be. In the post-

independence period, they could have made up for this shortcoming; but, very often, they chose to take the line of least resistance and to leave original thinking to imported 'consultants' who were available in plenty and with comparative ease. One way to reduce this tutelage and to introduce original thinking in the Education Departments would have been to create an Indian Educational Service which would have attracted much better material to the profession and would have also given the senior officers of the Department an independence which they badly needed. But this was not done.

The second reason is our failure to develop the University Departments of Education which could have taken at least a part of this responsibility. In fact when the Sadler Commission recommended the establishment of these departments, the main ground advanced was that they would provide solutions to the complex problems of Indian education. Unfortunately, these initial hopes have not been realised and most University Departments do little beyond the training of teachers.

The third reason for this failure is the non-development of systematic research in all sectors of education. In its absence, policies continue to be framed on the basis of subjective opinion of individuals—and very often, the same few individuals—and this generally leads to sectoral prejudices and the riding of hobby-horses rather than to comprehensive studies and radical reorganisation.

It is obvious that, unless effective steps are taken to remove these basic weaknesses, the independence and quality of educational thought will not be assured and a machinery that can vitalise education and attune it properly to national goals and aspirations from time to time will not have been built into the system itself. One of the main questions which educational planning now faces is, therefore, this : Shall we learn by these mistakes of the past and improve our techniques of planning for the next fifteen years? I hope we do.

SOME LESSONS FROM THE PAST (1946-65)

THE FIRST Indian plan of educational development, the Sargent Plan, was published exactly twenty years ago in 1944; and a period of equal duration would have also elapsed between 1946, when the first popular Ministry was formed at the Centre, and the end of the Third Plan. We are now on the eve of the Fourth Plan when we shall also be considering the preparation of a perspective Plan spread over the next 15-20 years. At this crucial juncture, it may be worthwhile to evaluate the experience of educational development in the post-independence period and to indicate its lessons for improving the methodology and techniques of educational planning in the future.

Educational planning tends to be weak unless it is founded upon a clear blue-print of the system of education to be ultimately evolved (which provides it with a *vision*) and is guided by a perspective plan of long-term development (which provides it with a *direction* and a *Pace*). Unfortunately, educational planning in the post-independence period has neither had a clear vision nor a definite direction and forms one of the weakest sectors in national planning. We have not been able as yet to clarify (1) the concept of the national system of education needed to achieve the social, economic, political and cultural goals which we have set before ourselves in the Constitution, and (2) the manner in which education would assist in creating the new social order we desire to have. In fact, even the concept of this new social order is far from clear or universally agreed upon. Similarly, we have not yet been able to produce a long-term perspective plan of educational development. The Sargent Plan tried to do this. But while that plan was rejected, we have not been able to evolve an alternative plan to take its place, and have contented ourselves with planning for five years at a time. While this is an improvement over the earlier practice of annual plans, it is not good enough for education which aims

at training men and women and where we have to look at least a generation ahead.

A desire to 'revolutionise' the system has been the most professed goal of educational reconstruction in the post-independence period. The educational system that grew up under the British rule did not accord with national aspirations. The public leaders were, therefore, talking of introducing revolutionary changes in education ever since the turn of the present century and this idea received a further impetus with the attainment of Independence. For instance, addressing the Educational Conference convened by the Ministry of Education in 1948, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed that the entire basis of education must be revolutionised. Similar sentiments were also expressed by most national leaders at this time. But no revolutionary changes have been introduced so far in the educational system inherited from the British period, and we have generally contented ourselves with piece-meal reform and the introduction of minor or marginal changes in content, techniques or organisation. By and large, the educational system built up under the British rule has been merely expanded further, with minor changes that make no perceptible impact on its ultimate output or objectives. In short, while we have talked of 'revolutionary changes', we have practised only a 'moderate reformism', thus providing one more illustration of the divorce between theory and practice which characterises our life. This has led to considerable frustration and heightened the divergence between the educational system and national aspirations.

The reasons for this failure are probably to be sought in (1) the general tutelage of the officers of the State Education Departments and the Ministry of Education on whom the responsibility for educational planning ultimately rests, (2) the tendency to avoid original thinking and to depend too greatly upon foreign consultants who were available in plenty and with comparative ease, (3) the failure of the University Departments of Education to rise to the occasion and their unhappy attitude to equate 'education' with the 'training of teachers for secondary schools', (4) the non-development of research in different sectors of education, and (5) an innate traditionalism that prefers even a 'known evil' to the risk involved in seeking an 'unknown good'.

The last of these is a very important factor and has a significant lesson for educational planners, especially in developing societies. Education seeks to bring about the most difficult of all changes—a change in men, their level and range of knowledge, skills, interests, attitudes and values. Consequently educational changes generally meet with the stiffest of resistances in traditional societies. Educational planners, therefore, have to study the process of educational change, anticipate the possible resistances to the programmes proposed to be adopted and make adequate provision to overcome them successfully. It is the failure to take due notice of these essentials that has led to the poor success achieved by most of the innovations we have tried to introduce so far, be it a great experiment like basic education or a simple curricular change like the teaching of social studies.

The process of educational change cannot be studied in isolation by mere educationists—it has to be a joint endeavour of sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, educationists and others. In other words, educational planning has to be broadbased and 'pedagogy' has to be allied to those and other connected disciplines in order to really find itself. Such a comprehensive attempt is yet to be made in India.

Talk usually tends to have an echo and it may be pointed out that our talk of 'revolutionary changes' has been met by an equally loud and incessant talk by all those who do not want any change and, in consequence, there have arisen a large number of controversies which have bedevilled the educational scene throughout the post-independence period. There is hardly any sector which does not have at least a few controversies, and at no period in the history of Indian education were controversies so rife as they are at present. In elementary education, for instance, the controversies over basic education, the double shift system or the transfer of its administration to local bodies have been going on for more than twenty-five years. In secondary education, we have spent ten years and a lot of money over the evolution of the higher secondary pattern. But today, the whole issue has been reopened and the results achieved have been largely challenged. In higher education, the worst tripartite battle is being fought over the problem of medium of instruction. To the language problem, which is probably the

most complicated, all types of solutions—from one language and one script to three languages and three scripts—are being offered. Even in a small area like physical education, so many conflicting programmes were launched that a committee had to sit for four years before it could recommend an agreed common programme which is still to be accepted by Government. Similar observations apply to other sectors also.

There is, of course, nothing wrong in controversies as such. On the other hand, these are signs of democratic vitality and can, if reflected in supporting action, lead to a better knowledge of truth and progress. But most of these controversies arise from a dogged conservatism that refuses to accept change and a tendency to prefer talk to action, so that all action gets bogged down in controversies which thrive on an endless stream of committees, seminars and conferences. What we need is attitudes where the emphasis is, not on doggedness and endless debate, but on reaching, as quickly as possible, a general agreement on the fundamental programmes of educational reconstruction, to be followed by an all-out effort to implement vigorously the decisions taken. Such attitudes are more likely to be created if greater attention could be paid to the techniques of introducing planned social changes, especially in a democratic set-up.

The best, and incidentally the most advertised, achievements of education in the post-independence period are the comprehensive approach—the trend to do something in every sector, however small—and expansion. But let me point out that both these results are due, not so much to planning, as to the social, political, cultural and economic forces which were already operating in the country since 1921, and particularly since 1937. For instance, the ‘comprehensive approach’ was adopted because it is the simplest solution to the difficult problem of deciding ‘priorities’. It also finds considerable support in the ‘democratic’ context because almost every programme in education is essentially good and desirable and because every such programme has some godfather, or what is often worse, some godmother, to support it, and the distraught Education Ministers are forced to adopt the comprehensive approach in an attempt to please all. Similarly, expansion was inevitable for several reasons. The public hunger for education has increased so greatly that it has become the most desired ‘consumer’

goods. In several areas, particularly those under the princely States, educational facilities were so limited that rapid expansion had to be resorted to in order to bridge the gap between them and the more advanced States. The same attempt to provide equality of educational opportunity in other sectors by extending educational facilities to rural areas, to girls, to the weaker sections of the community such as the scheduled castes and tribes, led to further expansion. The expansion of elementary education created pressures from below which gradually mounted up to the secondary and university sectors also. The old ‘job’ values which went with elementary education practically disappeared, and hence the job-seekers came to look upon secondary as the ‘minimum’ and ‘university’ as the optimum education they need have. This created further pressures in secondary and higher education which were increased still further by the policy to provide very liberal free studentships and scholarships and to open new institutions without adequate (or even any) regard to the essential facilities needed for a minimum standard of education. The growing unemployment among secondary school leavers induced parents to send their boys to colleges ‘just to keep them busy’ and the rising age of marriage brought many a girl to secondary schools and colleges in an attempt to utilise pleasantly the period of waiting to be married. Consequently, expansion at the secondary and university stages has been even greater than at the elementary stage and has now gathered a momentum which would be extremely difficult to control in future. ‘Planning’ in this regard has, therefore, meant, not so much a measure of control of forced growth, but merely a drift with an existing current. The only exception, of course, is technical, vocational and professional education where planning has been effective in every sense. But this streak of silver lining forms an exception and proves, rather than controverts, the thesis put forward above.

The ‘unplanned’ character of this expansion can be easily illustrated. At the elementary stage, the expansion has not been fast enough and we failed to implement the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution. At the secondary stage and in the Colleges of Arts and Commerce, expansion should be preferably controlled; but it is precisely in this sector that we are least able to do anything. The Sargent Plan had recommended a selective expansion at the secondary (for one out of five who complete

the primary school) and university stages (for 1 out of 15 who complete the secondary school); and that plan was rejected because this advice was too difficult to be digested. It has not even been possible to plan properly the location of all the new institutions—primary, middle, secondary and collegiate—that have come up and there is a good deal of avoidable overlap and waste. The test of a real 'plan' is that its programme cannot be implemented under 'natural' circumstances and it is only the support provided by the planning mechanism that pulls it through. In so far as expansion (except in technical and professional education) is concerned, we have simply anticipated what is anyhow going to happen and dubbed it as 'targets'. If the anticipation is underestimated—and we usually do it on financial grounds—we claim the honour of having exceeded the targets.

But perhaps the worst indictment of this expansion which high-lights its 'unplanned' character is the fact that it has been accompanied by a dilution or neglect of quality. When an expansion programme is 'planned', it makes provision for the essential capital and recurring expenditure involved so that adequate per capita facilities of education are provided for every additional child that enters school and quantity and quality go together. But we have not done this type of planning and our expansion has occurred without adequate provision of the essential capital and recurring expenditure involved thereby leading to a dilution of quality in all areas. The entry of children in schools is as unplanned as their birth into society—hardly anything has been anticipated and provided for them. They are equally welcome to a 'pot-luck' in either case.

This neglect of quality is another feature of the post-independence developments in education and arises from two factors: (1) the limited resources available, and (2) inability (or unwillingness) to control expansion. This starves qualitative programmes of the essential financial resources. Bad as this situation is, it has been made even worse by three typical failures. The first of these is the failure to identify and promote 'essential' sectors which require little investment but have a large effect on quality. For instance, strengthening and improvement of State Education Departments is a very major programme of qualitative improvement requiring comparatively limited outlay. But we have generally neglected and weakened them. The development of research

which would assist the teacher in improving his class-room techniques, the revision of curricula, the preparation of better textbooks, etc., are other programmes of qualitative improvement which need talent rather than financial resources, but all these have been comparatively neglected. Teacher training, particularly in-service training, has a very large correlation with qualitative improvement. But pre-service training has been generally neglected and in-service training has hardly made a beginning.

The second type of failure arises from the fact that we have often converted an essentially 'qualitative' programme into a 'quantitative' one. Basic education provides a good example. This is essentially a qualitative programme and our attempt should have been to define precisely the minimum criteria for a basic school and to ensure that they are provided in every school converted to the basic pattern. But this was not done. A desire to see 'more' basic schools led to the premature conversion of large numbers of schools to the basic pattern by merely making a non-recurring grant to provide the equipment for teaching a craft (and not infrequently, even without this elementary provision). This approach has given us better 'statistics'; but the quality of the so-called basic schools leaves much to be desired—a fact which rightly led Dr. Zakir Husain to describe the implementation of the experiment as a 'fraud'. This has happened in other sectors also, e.g., multi-purpose schools, higher secondary schools and training institutions. A qualitative approach needs an uncompromising firm stand on certain minimum essentials and a limitation on quantity in the light of resources available in men and money. What we have often done is just the opposite—to dilute the quality of even qualitative programmes in an unwise attempt to expand quality itself.

The third type of failure in qualitative improvement is due to the adoption of the 'comprehensive' rather than the 'selective' approach in developing educational institutions. For each educational institution, there is a minimum level where the 'take off' takes place. Below this level, the institution has a tendency to slide down still further; but once this level is reached, quality gets built into its essential fabric and it tends to rise higher on the basis of its own momentum. In a qualitative programme, therefore, it is essential to select a small number of institutions—

on the basis of resources available—and to develop them to this minimum standard. Such a programme creates a number of good institutions in the first instance and later on helps others to be 'good' and the good ones, to be better. Unfortunately, we have not adopted this approach by and large and the meagre resources available have been frittered away in trying to do 'something' for almost all institutions.

One more comment on this problem of expansion will show its unplanned character. It is generally assumed that expansion provides better access to education and greater equality of educational opportunity. But this is not necessarily so. We should really ask the question: who has benefited most from the expansion in education that has been achieved in the post-independence period? At the elementary stages, the weaker sections of the community still get very little benefit, their enrolment is comparatively less and wastage greater. But at the secondary stage, the problem becomes entirely different. In Kaira District, for instance, a recent study has shown that 75 per cent of the seats in secondary schools are taken by three castes—Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars—who form about 30 per cent of the population and the Barigas who form 60 per cent of the population get only 4 per cent of the seats. At the university stage, more than 70 per cent of the seats are taken by the top 5 per cent of the social strata. Educational development, particularly at the secondary and higher stages, is benefiting the 'haves' more than the 'have-nots'. This is a negation of social justice and of 'planning' proper.

The experience of educational planning in India during the last twenty years, therefore, raises two important issues for a developing economy: (1) What is a better approach to planning, the 'comprehensive' approach in which we try to do 'something for everything' or the 'selected-sector approach' in which we develop really massive programmes in significant sectors which have a seed value, a multiplying effect, or the largest potential for development? and (2) How do we reconcile the competing demands of the inevitable expansion and the indispensable qualitative improvement? A brief examination of these two important issues would not be out of place.

The difficulties inherent in the comprehensive approach have already been highlighted; and the Indian experience has shown

that this 'escapism' from the need to define priorities yields but poor results and that this attempt to please all ultimately ends by pleasing none. This is one reason why there is so much dissatisfaction and criticism against Indian education. It is, therefore, probably better to adopt a selected-sector approach in a developing economy. As illustrations, the following programmes may be considered:

(1) *Adult Education*: The liquidation of adult illiteracy is the most important programme of national development and on it depend several other programmes such as agricultural production, family planning, etc. This sector has been criminally neglected and it is extremely desirable to undertake a large-scale programme in this sector and to liquidate mass illiteracy in a few years—five or ten at the most. For this purpose, part-time education leading to permanent literacy may be made compulsory for all children in the age-group 11-17 (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours' attendance a day for three days in a week maintained for about a year would serve the purpose). In addition, mass literacy campaigns will have to be organised for all adults in the age-group 18-40.

(2) *Post-graduate Stage*: In the future development of Indian education, especially from the qualitative point of view, the significance of the post-graduate sector cannot be over-estimated. Today, this has almost become a bottleneck, because the expansion at the lower stage is increasing quite out of proportion to the growth at the post-graduate stage. Consequently, we do not get good teachers for colleges. This dilutes under-graduate education and makes it difficult to get good teachers for secondary schools. In its turn, this dilutes secondary education itself and makes it impossible for us to get good teachers for elementary schools. The only way to break this vicious circle is to double or even treble the output at the post-graduate stage. At the same time, we must also take steps to see that the highest possible quality is maintained at the post-graduate stage, because the person studying at this level has a 'seed' value and would ultimately fertilise the whole field of education. The attempt in this sector should, therefore, be both qualitative and quantitative.

(3) *Teacher Improvement*: No qualitative progress of educational development is possible without an improvement in teachers.

Our expansion has far outrun our capacity to produce good teachers and this is the main reason for the dilution of quality. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to concentrate, for a few years, on all such measures which improve teachers at all stages elementary, secondary and university. This will involve an improvement in remuneration; the provision of old age benefits; institution of welfare services; improvement and expansion of training institutions; and institution of in-service training. Every rupee invested in this sector will pay multiple dividends.

(4) *Supervision and Inspection*: As already pointed out, this is a crucial sector of educational development, and yet it has been weakened and allowed to deteriorate in the first three Plans. An intensive development of this sector by strengthening and reorganizing the education departments and providing in-service training for departmental officers will have immeasurable good results in proportion to the investment made.

(5) *Development of Research*: Education ultimately boils down to the teaching and learning processes that take place in thousands of class rooms simultaneously. Any investment made to improve the techniques adopted in this process and to assist the teachers to a better performance will have the best of results. But this implies development of research on a very large scale by talented and competent persons. This is another area which has been almost totally neglected so far. Since research takes time to grow and to show fruitful results, the earlier we make a massive beginning in this sector the better.

(6) *Aid to Students*: Programmes like school meals at the primary stage, the provision of free books and reading materials at all stages, the provision of day reading centres and such other facilities at the higher stage and other aids to students will go a very long way in qualitative improvement of education. These have been, by and large, neglected so far.

(7) *Cultivation of Talent*: It is a prime responsibility of the State to discover talent and to provide the best opportunities possible for the education of gifted children. This will necessarily imply a liberal provision of scholarships; but it should also go much beyond and cover the placing of talented students into good schools as to bring them in contact with good teachers and under proper atmosphere.

The list of selected sectors given above is not claimed to be

perfect. Starting on some other principles, an entirely different list can also be drawn up. For instance, it is possible to make out a case for emphasising such sectors as; (1) the teaching of science; (2) improving the standards in English; (3) development of regional languages so as to make them ultimately suitable as media of instruction at all stages; (4) universalisation of basic education; (5) introduction of productive work in schools and colleges, etc. This is a matter of detail. The main thesis emphasised is that, in view of the limited resources available, a more promising approach in a developing economy is to select a few significant sectors of educational development for massive treatment rather than the comprehensive approach under which a good deal of energy and money is frittered away over programmes which can at best be described as of 'fringe' value.

The second problem is to reconcile the competing claims of quantity and quality. The most common view now put forward is that we should restrict or cut out expansion in order to improve quality. Even if this were possible, it is hardly desirable. Quantity and quality are not contradictory terms—they are both essential to sound educational progress. There is no 'either or' here. It is an inescapable necessity to have both. The contradiction between the two arises, not on educational grounds, but on financial ones because there is just enough money to cover all the desirable programmes—quantitative or qualitative. This situation can, however, be met through a number of expedients. The first and the most important is to secure the largest possible resources for educational development on the highest priority basis and, by avoiding all causes of wastage, to ensure the maximum utilisation of the resources actually made available. In addition, it is possible to select a few significant sectors that have a large qualitative import and develop them to the full. We might also make a selective institutional approach and fully improve, as a first step in the programme, a middle school within a radius of five miles in all parts of the country, a secondary school in each development block and a college and some vocational schools in each district. We might earmark a fair proportion of available funds for programmes of qualitative improvement and put them in a Centrally-sponsored sector which is comparatively immune to pressures of expansion which are generated at the local and State levels, and then utilise it for

approved programmes of qualitative improvement which might be made to vary, in the light of local conditions, from State to State. Other alternatives, or a combination of these alternatives, can also be tried. What has to be emphasised is not so much the method of approach, as the inescapable need to make a simultaneous advance on both the quantitative and qualitative fronts so that, by a given date, the country should have an extensive educational system at a very high level of efficiency.

The supreme device for improving quality is to emphasise the human factor. Unfortunately men are so 'plentiful' and 'cheap' in India, that the human element generally gets ignored everywhere, even in education. The supreme distinction of the Sargent Plan was the emphasis on teachers—their remuneration, general education and professional training. But in the post-independence period (except for some good work done by the U.G.C. for the universities and in technical education), the teacher has not received a square deal. The educational administrator and the student have also had a similar fate. These are fundamental weaknesses in our educational planning which will have to improve if better results are to be obtained.

Still another aspect of this neglect of man is the over-emphasis on physical and financial resources as factors leading to qualitative improvement. Better education does need more investment and more physical resources, no doubt. But it needs the human efforts even more—the combined efforts of the officers of the Education Department, the teachers, the students and the parents. Today, there is a tendency for each of these human agencies to work less and less, both in quantity and in quality, and to demand more financial investment and physical facilities on the ground that these are inescapable for better education. There is also a strong trend to emphasise schemes which involve expenditure rather than thought, because it is easier to spend money than thought, especially if it is some one else's money.¹ The fallacy of this trend is obvious and an attempt has to be made in the future to organise a nation-wide programme of educational improvement at all stages—from the elementary to the university—by trying to motivate the human agencies concerned to a more intensive and a better planned endeavour.

¹ I owe this beautiful expression to Dr. D. S. Kothari, Chairman, University Grants Commission.

There are also some other aspects of the problem which do not require large-scale investment, but which have a strong bearing on qualitative improvement. For instance, the size of an educational institution is very important. There is a minimum size for each type of an educational institution below which its quality tends to remain poor and we have a large number of institutions where the very smallness of size is the major obstacle to qualitative improvement. A deliberate attempt to plan and set up bigger institutions will, therefore, yield very good results in raising standards. Other programmes that will help in the same direction are improvement of curricula, evolution of better techniques of instruction, research, production of educational literature and better utilisation of available time, buildings and materials. 'These sectors have received but little attention so far, and a better attention to them in future will help to raise standards substantially without any large outlay of funds.

For securing qualitative improvement, two special techniques are very useful. The first is a continuous built-in evaluation of programmes. This just does not exist at present and no attempt has been made so far to create special evaluation units, either at the Centre or in the States. The *ad hoc* and uncertain device of CCOP teams has a certain utility no doubt, but even this limited technique is being used, for the first time, in the Third Plan only. Obviously, a much greater attention has to be given to this programme. The second technique is the organisation of significant pilot projects with a view to evolving the right methods to solve some of the tough problems we have to face. It is true that some work in this direction is being done in the Centre as well as in the States. What is needed, however, is a larger provision of funds and the organisation of a competent machinery for the designing of pilot projects, for their evaluation, and for suggesting the manner in which their findings can be generalised.

Another set of problems in Indian educational planning is related to administrative issues. India has a federal constitution and education is essentially a State subject. This makes centralised planning difficult and a national system of education can hardly be created without some type of central direction. This administrative lacuna is realised and it is also felt that education ought really to be a concurrent responsibility. Short

of a direct amendment of the constitution, an attempt has been made to secure the 'substance' of concurrency in a number of indirect ways. Social and economic planning is a concurrent subject and the Central Planning Commission wields a very large influence in shaping the State plans in all sectors, including education. The Ministry of Education has evolved a large apparatus for consultations with the States and the Centre also has the unquestionable power of the purse. With the help of this unusual combination, a common core of educational policy is attempted to be evolved through an 'alternating resort to cajoling and bribing'. The fact that a single political party is in power in the Centre and the States also helps. There is a group of thinkers who feel that this 'working partnership' which has been evolved in the post-independence period between the Centre and States is enough to serve the purpose, and all that the Centre has to do is to provide dynamic leadership and more liberal financial support. On the other hand, there is also a strong support to the idea that the constitution should be amended to make education a concurrent subject.

Just as the Centre-State relationship needs redefinition, the roles of local bodies and voluntary organisations in educational development have to be defined afresh. What is precisely the role of local bodies in educational development? We have no definite answer. In two of the States—Punjab and Kerala—the local bodies have no contact with education. At the other extreme is Maharashtra where local bodies have full control over elementary and secondary education. Even where local bodies have been associated with education, practices with regard to the position of inspectorate, control over teachers, methods of grant-in-aid, etc., vary considerably. What is needed is a careful study of the whole situation and a new lead from a national platform. Similarly, the role of voluntary organisations has also to be redefined. In the British period, almost the entire burden of providing secondary and collegiate education was summed by them. But conditions have changed considerably since the attainment of independence. The resources available to these organisations have dwindled and are getting thinner every day. They are no longer able to attract talented and devoted persons to the extent they did in the past. The tasks to be faced have also increased in complexity and magnitude

and are often beyond their reach. And yet it would be sheer folly to ignore them totally. What is needed is a new approach which will give them the necessary financial support without curtailing their freedom and utilise their assets in terms of devoted personnel and managerial skills. This is another complex problem where an all-India study is badly needed as a national policy has to be evolved. At present, however, this is one more area where drift and expediency still dominate the picture.

The last and probably the most significant group of problems relate to finance. Here two main issues have to be faced. The first is the raising of maximum resources possible. Even after independence, educational expenditure has not risen very greatly—the annual increase has been about 11.6 per cent—and even today we spend only 2.6 per cent of the national income on education as against a minimum of 4 per cent recommended for developing countries. A greater increase in educational expenditure would be possible if we can stimulate all agencies involved—Centre, State, local bodies, local communities and voluntary organisations—to do their best. But we have not been able to do so except with regard to State Governments. Secondly, we have to ensure that we get the maximum utilisation of whatever resources we have. This needs careful and extensive studies in costs of education, and an earnest effort to plug all leakages. But this has not yet been done and the entire educational system continues to be as wasteful as in the pre-independence period. In fact, its wastefulness and ineffectiveness have increased rather than decreased. This is the one area where 'planning' has the most significant role to play; and it is probably the one area in which it has been least effective.

A word of apology is necessary before concluding this discussion. It will be seen that the foregoing review brings into focus the several shortcomings which have come to light in the last 15 years of planned educational development and that it does not refer to a number of achievements for which we cannot but be grateful to those who have shaped education in these years. The omission is due, not to any lack of appreciation for what has been done—more things have been done in the last 15 years than were ever done in the British period as a whole—but because the avowed purpose of this paper is to emphasise

the lessons for the future and because such a purpose is best served by highlighting weaknesses rather than the strong points. The future planner, however, will need both—an appreciation of the achievements of the past as well as a critical evaluation of its shortcomings. The former will give him confidence and inspiration and the latter, the essential wisdom to avoid at least the known mistakes.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AT THE CROSS ROADS

FEW people realise that educational planning is now at the cross roads. We have had before us the achievements and failures of the first three Five Year Plans. We are also now attempting to think ahead for the next three Plans and to prepare a Perspective Plan of educational development (1966-81) and, against its background, to finalise the Fourth Five Year Plan (1966-71). It is, therefore, essential for us to take stock of all that has gone before, to estimate all that is needed in the future, and to decide upon the best lines of action for the Fourth Five Year Plan. All this will have to be attempted in the next year or two.

Apart from this urgency, it is also essential to realise the tremendous significance of the decisions that we shall soon be taking on the long-term and short-term issues of educational development. The next 10 or 15 years from the most crucial period in the history of India and the entire future of the country depends upon what happens or does not happen in this period. As education is the most significant factor in development, this is equivalent to saying that the entire future of the country would largely depend upon the development of Indian education during the next 10-15 years. It, therefore, follows that the future of the country will ultimately depend upon the decisions that we shall take, in the next year or two, on the educational development to be attempted in the next three Plans in general and the Fourth Plan in particular.

NEW POLICIES

Shift of Emphasis to Quality

If one were to evaluate the experience of the first three Plans and compare it with the needs of educational development in the country, a number of special features of the next three Plans would become evident. The first of these is the need to

shift the emphasis in educational planning to qualitative improvement. The last sixteen years have been a period of unprecedented expansion in Indian education and the tempo of expansion, at all levels and in all sectors of education, has mounted up increasingly from the post-war period (1947-50) to the first Plan (1951-56), from the first to the second (1956-61) and from the second to the third (1961-66). As a consequence of this expansion, the quality of education has been diluted to some extent, especially because it has not been adequately emphasised at any time. The dangers of this dilution, and the possibility of still further dilution under the impact of the inevitable expansion during the fourth and the fifth Plans, have now been recognised on all hands and there is universal agreement on the view that, in the next three Plans, the emphasis will have to be shifted to qualitative improvement of education so that, by 1981, the country will have both a *widespread* and a *good* system of education.

Continued Expansion, Probably at an Even Faster Rate

It is commonly assumed that quantity and quality in education are opposed to each other and that the expansion of educational facilities generally leads to dilution of quality. It may, therefore, be presumed that this shift of emphasis on qualitative improvement in the Fourth Plan would necessarily imply a restriction on expansion. But this is not quite correct. In spite of the unprecedented expansion of education which has taken place during the last fifteen years, India has become, by no means, an over-educated country. In the age-group 6-14, only 60 per cent of the children would have been enrolled in schools by the end of the Third Plan. During the next fifteen years, universal education would have to be provided in this age-group in order to fulfil the Directive of Article 45 of the Constitution. At the secondary stage, only 16 per cent of the children in the age-group 14-17 would have been enrolled in schools in a secondary course whose duration, by and large, would be three years. By the end of the Sixth Plan, the duration of the secondary course would have to be raised to four years and the enrolments in secondary schools would have to be increased to about 40 per cent of the children in the age-group 14-17. At the university stage, the total enrolment in 1965-66 would be only 2.4 per cent of the

age-group 18-23. By 1980-81, this will have to be increased to about 10 per cent of the age-group. These enrolments are by no means excessive when compared to the standards of education already reached in advanced countries. They are, however, the minimum essential for the industrialised modern society which we are striving to create in India. At the same time, they imply an even greater rate of expansion than that attained during the last fifteen years. It is, therefore, evident that, during the next fifteen years, and especially in the Fourth Plan, the quantitative expansion of education will have to continue, and, if possible, at a faster rate, in spite of the shift in emphasis to qualitative improvement. The Third Plan will thus see the close of an era of rapid expansion in which qualitative improvement was generally less emphasised. The Fourth Plan will usher in a new period, spread over the next fifteen years, when we will have to take care of quantity and quality alike.

Limitation on Financial Resources

This simultaneous attempt to improve quantity and quality will naturally place a far greater strain on our financial resources than has been done at any earlier period in the post-independence era. Unfortunately, the Chinese aggression has created a situation wherein a substantial portion of national resources, which would otherwise have been available for developmental programmes, would be earmarked for defence preparation. Such a situation necessarily implies some limitations on the resources which the public sector can provide for education and these limitations would be a significant feature of development during the next 10-15 years and particularly in the Fourth Plan. We shall, therefore, have to attempt a much larger task in the quantitative and qualitative improvement of education with financial resources which are not expanding quite in proportion.

The first reaction to this situation is likely to be negative and one would be inclined to retort that the 'more and better' education we need cannot be provided without a proportionate increase in educational expenditure, and that, if the necessary funds are not available, the desired educational reconstruction will just not be achieved. I would not subscribe to this viewpoint which, in my opinion, betrays a spirit of defeatism or escapism. On the other hand, I look at this situation as a cha-

llenge which necessitates us to think hard, even harder than the educators of advanced countries which have fewer problems to face and ampler resources to command. I feel that we can meet this situation and perform, what superficially appears to be an impossible task, by adopting a number of devices. First and foremost, we shall have to give up the very common tendency to 'imitate' the practices of advanced countries partly because these practices do not suit our conditions and partly because no mechanical imitation can ever serve a useful purpose in the solution of social or educational problems. We will also have to restrain the common trend 'to pass on our problems to foreign experts for solution', although their advice and guidance would necessarily be of much use in *our* efforts to solve them. We will have to devise ways and means of supplementing public support for education, on which alone limitations are being placed by the present situation, through private sources which can be stimulated to a much greater extent than at present. We will also have to take steps to plug all holes—all causes of wastage—and devise measures to see that every *naya paisa* allocated to education goes the longest way, which implies careful planning and harder work on the part of all concerned—students, teachers and administrators. If these measures are attempted, it would be possible to achieve the heavy task of a simultaneous improvement in the quantity and quality of education in spite of a comparatively restricted allocation of public resources.

I would not like to be misunderstood and would point out that I do not advocate, by any means, a reduction in the public expenditure on education on the ground of national emergency or of the need to increase the defence effort. I subscribe to the view that the defence effort itself would not succeed unless it is accompanied by an intensive effort to develop education. To me, there is a greater need now to increase the public expenditure on education than there ever was before the Chinese aggression. The developments in the United Kingdom, where educational expenditure was increased several-fold during the years of the Second World War, is a good pointer to indicate what we should do during the next 10-15 years. I do, therefore, look forward to public allocations for education being increased substantially during the next fifteen years, and specially during the

Fourth Plan. At the same time, I would like to point out that, even with the best will in the world and with the best of efforts, no Government in India would be able to provide all the funds which the contemplated development of education will need in the ordinary course. I, therefore, place the greatest emphasis on the need to supplement the efforts of Central and State Governments to provide increased funds for education by private enterprise and by efforts to eliminate wastage and to secure the best possible utilisation of the resources available.

Relating Educational to Economic Growth

The fundamental feature of the Indian scene is the appalling poverty of the people and the most important task before the country is to raise their standard of living to a point where it becomes comparable with that in the more progressive countries of the world. This is necessarily a long-term project. But during the next 10-15 years, we shall have to develop the economy in such a way that the 'take-off' stage is reached very soon, sometime before the end of the Fifth Plan, and the national dividend is increased from about Rs. 330 in 1961 to about Rs. 750 in 1981 (at constant prices). This would imply a supreme effort in economic development for which Indians would have to work extremely hard and deny several comforts and privileges to themselves and the friendly advanced nations will have to come forward with unstinted and more liberal assistance.

The main justification for the larger outlay on educational reconstruction which will be needed during the next 10-15 years, and especially in the Fourth Plan, is the hypothesis that education is the most important single factor which leads to economic growth and that the order of economic development which we visualise would be unattainable but for the educational reconstruction that we now propose. In short, education would have to be geared intimately to productivity which, in its turn, depends upon the efficiency of individual workers and the adoption of modern techniques of production based on the development of science and technology.

Unfortunately, Indian education has never been properly geared to economic growth. During the British period, it was geared to several goals: (1) to the administrative need of creating a body of Indians who would help in running a modern adminis-

tration; (2) to the cultural need of making Indians aware of the science and literature of the West; (3) to the desirability of changing obsolete traditional ideas and superstitions with a view to creating a modern social order; and (4) under the nationalist impact of the Gandhian era, to the struggle for freedom. But by and large, the coordination of educational development to economic growth was not contemplated, either by the British administrators or by the large body of Indian nationalists, prior to 1947. The scheme of basic education was probably the first attempt in this direction. But for several reasons it has not worked well and, at any rate, has to be reconsidered and adjusted to the needs of the industrialised society which we are now trying to create. During the last fifteen years, therefore, these traditional objectives of the educational system have largely continued to dominate the scene and attempts to relate educational reconstruction to economic development have neither been made nor have they succeeded to any appreciable extent, except in some aspects of technical education.

I feel that this effort to coordinate educational reconstruction with economic growth would have to begin on a large-scale in the Fourth Plan and will have to be intensified several-fold as the years pass on. The most crucial step in this process is the diversification and vocationalisation of the secondary course so that, by 1981, the bulk of the children in secondary schools would be pursuing intensive vocational courses which would prepare them, not for entrance to a University as at present, but for various walks of life, especially in the industrial and agricultural sector. This attempt to relate education directly to economic growth would be one of the most significant features of educational reconstruction in the next 10-15 years and especially in the Fourth Plan.

Emphasis on the Human Factor

Educational reconstruction must emphasise the human factor because, in the last analysis, the success of an educational system is to be sought for in its products, i.e., in the cultural level, professional competence and character of the men and women who come out of its portals. This aspect of the problem has received inadequate attention in the last fifteen years and we have accustomed ourselves to the evaluation of educational progress

in terms of colourless statistics—the number of students enrolled at the various stages of education and the financial outlays incurred thereon. It is now being increasingly realised, however, that a mere expansion of the ‘apparatus’ of education is not necessarily synonymous with progress, that bad or indifferent education can lead the country to disaster and be even worse than no education, and that what we have to give to the country is ‘more’ and ‘better’ education which would turn out, in ever increasing numbers, competent, responsible and useful citizens who would create a richer and more just social order based on democracy.

This emphasis on the proper development of the students needs, in its turn, emphasis on two other human factors. The first of these is the teacher. We need an army of good teachers, well-informed, well-adjusted, competent and devoted to their duty. At present, the bringing up of the next generation is being left more and more to the ‘lesser’ representatives of the present generation—a situation which is fraught with danger to the entire future of the country. Instead of this, we have to create a situation where the bringing up of the next generation would be left more and more to the ‘better’ part of the present generation. This implies a very earnest consideration of all problems relating to teachers—the improvement of their remuneration, provision of better schemes for retirement benefits, the institution of welfare services, the promotion of professional organisations to undertake programmes for their academic betterment, and giving them their due status as the builders of the greater India of tomorrow. The second human factor is that of administrators. During the British period, the administrator of education was an alien who was generally unacquainted with, and incapable of understanding, the innermost aspirations of the people. When the struggle for freedom began and came to be supported, in increasing numbers, by the educated intelligentsia, he developed a police aspect wherein his primary responsibility was to see that education did not develop into antipathy to British rule. In the post-independence period, the administration of education has been fully Indianised; but the earlier ‘police’ traditions of the administration still continue to dominate the Indian scene, although in a different context. What is worse, the expansion and improvement of educational administration has generally

been neglected, with the result that the Education Departments of today are far less equipped to deal with the immense tasks of educational reconstruction than they were at any earlier time in the past. What is needed is a substantial increase in the personnel of the Education Departments and a revolution in its character, that is to say, its conversion from a body of men who deal mainly with statistics, financial sanctions, grants-in-aid, transfers and appointments, and enquiries into all sorts of complaints, into an organisation of educationists who would be imaginative enough to realise the goals of educational reconstruction, sensitive enough to know needs and demands of the people, competent enough to plan satisfactory programmes of educational reconstruction and to implement them with success and able enough to function as the friends, philosophers and guides of teachers who, in their turn, would extend a similar service to parents and students.

The body of students will also have to play its proper role in the proposed educational reconstruction side by side with the teachers and administrators. In the first instance, they will have to work far harder than at present. A great Indian educator has humourously observed that, in our schools, and particularly in colleges, the vacations extend from one end of the year to another. This is a profound statement and I do feel that the Indian students work far less than those in other advanced countries, particularly at the secondary and university stages and that their motivation leaves much to be desired. Simultaneously, we will have to see that we give the students a much better deal than at present by providing better financial support and by making better provision for their residence, studies, health and welfare. These and other problems of the student world will have to receive the utmost emphasis during the next fifteen years.

NEW PROGRAMMES

Determining the Topical Objectives of Education

In the light of these preliminary observations regarding new policies for adoption, I shall now try to indicate some new programmes which I would like to be initiated in the Fourth Plan. In this regard, the first issue that I would like to raise relates to the topical objectives of education. Some of the objectives of education are

absolute in the sense that they are true of all countries and of all times. The 'harmonious development of the personality of a child' is, for instance, an absolute objective of education. I am afraid we have concentrated far too much on such absolute concepts because they are easy to be borrowed from standard textbooks written elsewhere. I would like to point out, however, that it is not enough to state the absolute objectives of education only and that it is necessary to supplement them by a clear statement of *topical* objectives which are true of a given country at a given time and which, therefore, vary from time to time and place to place. There is no inherent contradiction between the absolute and topical objectives. But from the practical point of view, the topical objectives are of very great importance because they tend to give 'a local habitation and a name' to what often tends to be an 'airy nothing'.

Let me illustrate. The objective of 'national emotional integration' is obviously of paramount importance in the India of today, when the unifying forces such as those created by the anti-imperialist struggle for freedom have either ceased to operate or are weakening and fissiparous tendencies have come to the surface, particularly after the reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis. The Prime Minister had once observed that this objective was of such vital significance that, if it was not achieved, we would not be in a position to defend our hard-won freedom. The problem of achieving national emotional integration through education becomes, therefore, a 'topical' objective of education of the highest significance during the next ten to fifteen years. Other examples of programmes related to the attainment of significant topical objectives of education can be easily given: (1) development of values, attitudes and habits which are favourable to the stabilisation of democracy which we have adopted, under the Constitution, as a way of life; (2) building up of moral and spiritual values in an educational system which has necessarily to be secular in character; (3) preservation of ancient traditional values and their harmonisation with the needs of a modern social order based on science and technology; (4) overcoming the proneness to black-coated professions which has been inherent in the culture of our educated classes and to orientate our educational system to increased productivity; and (5) elimination of such evils as rampant individualism, caste

system, etc., and the creation of a new social order based on equality of opportunity and social, political and economic justice. It will readily be agreed that values of this type are of paramount importance in the present situation and have to be placed before the educational system as its 'topical' objectives and suitable programmes have to be devised for their realisation.

The question which we have to pose before ourselves is briefly this: What should be the topical objectives of education during the next ten to twenty years and what programmes should we devise in order to achieve them? In particular, what programmes should be taken up from this point of view in the Fourth Plan? Very little work has been done in this direction and here is a very significant and fruitful field for deep philosophical reflection.

Deepening the Content of Education

An equally important issue relates to the content of education. We live today in a highly competitive world; and the chances of our survival and ability to make our own contribution to the life of Man is in direct proportion to the competence of the men and women we are able to produce; or in other words, to the content of education we provide.

The educational process can be conveniently described as consisting of three inter-related programmes: (1) to give knowledge; (2) to build up essential skills; and (3) to develop the right attitudes, interests and values. While all these programmes are essential for a discussion of the content of education, I shall restrict myself only to the first, the knowledge content of education, for reasons of convenience. But what I say about it here is obviously applicable, with even greater force, to the other two programmes.

Two significant trends are seen in the advanced countries of the world in educational development. The first is the trend to prolong the duration of education; and the second is the trend to put more content in the same period of schooling. For instance, the duration of compulsory schooling has been increased from 6 to 8 or 9 years and attempts are being made to increase it still further to ten or twelve years. At the same time, owing to improvement in teachers, teaching methods and equipment provided, children are learning more and more within a given span of education. At the end of the eighth year of schooling,

for instance, a child today learns things which were normally learnt in the ninth or the tenth year of schooling, ten or fifteen years previously, and this trend is continuously on the increase.

I am not quite sure that this is happening in all parts of India or that it is happening with sufficient speed. A historical study of the development of curricula at the different stages of education in all the States of India would throw very interesting light on this problem. By and large, however, I might say that the content of our education today does not provide adequate challenges, either to the students or to the teachers. At the elementary stage, for instance, there has been considerable improvement in the general education and training of teachers. But the content of elementary education has hardly increased in proportion. At the secondary stage, the mother tongue has been adopted as the medium of instruction. This should have facilitated the assimilation of knowledge very considerably. But it is doubtful whether the upgrading of the curricula of secondary schools has taken adequate note of the implications of this change. Similar observations may also be made at the university stage in respect of any courses, except probably such highly specialised courses as those of Medicine, where not to keep abreast of latest developments is death. By and large, our secondary schools now teach a good deal of what should be taught at the elementary stage and the colleges teach a good deal of what should really be taught at the secondary stage.

Dr. D.S. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, has suggested that we should plan, not only in quantitative terms of enrolments and duration of courses, but also in the more significant terms of content. As a concrete proposal, he has suggested that, by the end of the Fifth Plan, the standard to be reached at the end of the secondary stage should be equivalent to the old Intermediate, and that to be reached at the first degree stage should be approximately equal to that now reached at the Master's degree. One need not be very dogmatic about any particular suggestion; but the underlying idea of this suggestion is very clear: the content of education must be continually and consciously deepened. This is an important aspect of the problem which has been neglected totally in all our planning so far and we must introduce it in the educational planning of the future.

It is obvious that such deepening of the content, not only in information but in skills and values, will imply considerable research in curriculum-making and in the development of newer and more efficient techniques of teaching and evaluation. It will also imply an improvement of teachers from every point of view and particularly from that of academic competence. This is another area, which needs close attention.

In this connection, I must specially refer to the teaching of science. This is one area where our old traditions are the weakest. In ancient India, we evolved a philosophy which shows the highest flights of imagination and provides one of the greatest measures of truth in relation to the fundamental problems of life and death. But we did not develop a scientific tradition and the development of scientific attitude in our midst was hampered, rather than promoted, by the authoritarian traditions we cultivated. The history of education in the world shows that, at the end of the Middle Ages, the conditions in East and West were more or less alike and that it was the development of science that has made the West so different from the East today. Our future development, therefore, lies in the assimilation of science and in the cultivation of a scientific attitude. The elimination of poverty, the disruption of traditions like the caste system and the modernisation of our society entirely depend upon the acceptance of modern science and technology.

We have, therefore, to place the highest emphasis on the teaching of science at all stages. Our curricula in science will, therefore, have to be revised very largely and the revision will have to be kept up almost continuously in view of the latest developments in the scientific world. The preparation of our science teachers will have to be improved in quality and increased in quantity. Scientific talent will have to be identified and provided with adequate opportunity for full development. These are programmes whose value and significance has now been accepted in principle by all concerned—the Central and State Governments, teachers and the public. What is needed is the evolution of concrete and realistic programmes of action.

Cultivating Excellence

Another important programme of educational reconstruction is the cultivation of excellence—the provision of the best educational

opportunity possible to all talented children. It is this programme which gives a unique distinction to the Soviet system of education and, to a greater or lesser degree, it is a feature of the educational systems of all the advanced countries.

In India, however, our time has been mostly taken up so far with the basic task of providing minimum educational facilities to as many children as possible and we have not been able to develop a programme, at the different stages of education, for the discovery of talent and for its systematic cultivation to the full. A programme of scholarships, which is essential to this end, was not developed, on any appreciable scale, till the end of the Second Plan. It is only in the Third Plan that the scheme of National Scholarships was introduced and was supplemented by the system of loan scholarships on a fairly large scale. But these schemes relate to higher education only and do not have an adequate base at the secondary and middle school stages. Besides, even today, the total number of scholarships provided is small as compared with other countries: and the amount of scholarships is often inadequate.

It must be pointed out that the bulk of the talent remains undeveloped at present for several reasons. Since the enrolment at the elementary stage is about 60 per cent of the total population in the age-group 6-14, forty per cent of the talent remains, for all practical purposes, outside the educational system. Even among the children enrolled, only twenty per cent reach class VIII and the talent among the remaining 80 per cent, who drop off on the wayside at different stages, is also unutilised. Large drop-outs occur at the secondary and collegiate stages also. It may, therefore, be said that only a small fraction of the total talent available in the country is now being developed fully with the result that, in all tasks of national reconstruction, we are faced with the insurmountable problem of the shortage of indigenous talent.

For the proper development of talent, it is necessary that the gifted children should be discovered and brought in good schools under the influence of good teachers. The number of such schools in our midst is limited; and in spite of the scholarships programme, it is not always possible to bring the talented student under the influence of good schools and good teachers. This

is another reason why human talent does not develop to the full in our conditions today.

The remedial programme becomes obvious from this analysis. We have to make an intensive search to discover talent at all stages—elementary, secondary and university. A far larger programme of scholarships from the middle school to the university has to be created. Measures have to be devised to bring talented students into good schools and under the influence of good teachers and, for that purpose, a continuous attempt has to be made to increase the number of good institutions. Even in the ordinary schools, teachers have to be trained to discover talented students and to help them by providing more difficult curricula and personal guidance. The provision of advanced courses which students can take at various levels, particularly at the end of elementary or secondary stages can be a very worthwhile suggestion from this point of view. These programmes have to be taken up, on a fairly large-scale, in the Fourth Plan and intensified still further in the fifth and sixth Plans.

NEW PRIORITIES

Another consideration that comes up when one compares the first three Plans with the next three is that some of the earlier priorities will have to be drastically altered. As an illustration of what I mean, I shall discuss three issues—adult education, vocationalisation, and in-service training—but it is obvious that similar arguments could be put forward in respect of several other sectors as well.

Adult Education

The greatest weakness in the educational development of the post-independence period is the total neglect of adult education and the failure to liquidate mass illiteracy. It is a national disgrace that the percentage of literacy is still as low as 24. Almost every programme of development, particularly in the rural sector, is now being severely handicapped on account of mass illiteracy. One of the programmes which should be accorded very high priority in future is the liquidation of mass illiteracy, by a specified date, say, 1975 or 1981. This will need the generation of mass enthusiasm for adult education, the orga-

nisation of mass literacy campaigns, production of literature for neo-literates on a large scale and the training of adult education workers.

Vocationalisation

The number of students who attend vocational courses at the secondary stage in India is probably the lowest in the world. In West Germany, for instance, about 70 per cent of the students at the secondary stage follow vocational courses which prepare them for life. In Japan, this percentage is about 60. The position in most of the advanced and industrialised countries is the same. But in India, only 12 per cent of the students enrolled at the secondary stage follow vocational courses. Our programmes of rapid industrialisation are being held up for want of 'middle-level' personnel which only the vocational secondary schools can produce. During the next two plans, therefore, the proportion of students at the school level of education who take to vocational courses will have to be increased to at least 40 per cent and these programmes of vocationalisation will have to be accorded very high priority. Since the vocational schools are generally costlier to equip and maintain, this programme of vocationalisation has large implications in the preparation of teachers and in the provision of funds. What is said here with reference to secondary education applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to higher education also.

In-service Training

Still another programme which needs immediate attention is provision of in-service education to teachers, headmasters, teacher-educators and administrators at all levels. For some categories of this staff, we do not have even programmes of pre-service education; and for all of them, we have no programmes of in-service education. It is now universally agreed that one of the most powerful methods of improving efficiency is to provide in-service education on an adequate scale. Such in-service education also gives the best qualitative return for the funds invested. In the next three Plans, therefore, an attempt will have to be made to provide in-service education to all these important functionaries in education.

NEW ATTITUDES TO OLD PROBLEMS

During the next three Plans, we will also have to develop new attitudes to old problems and a beginning in this direction would have to be made in the Fourth Plan itself. For instance, take the question of basic education. As early as 1949, basic education was adopted as the national pattern of education at the elementary stage. The country is thus committed to convert all elementary schools to the basic system as quickly as possible. But this programme has not proceeded well. On the one hand, only 21 per cent of the elementary schools would have been converted to the basic system by the end of the Third Plan; and on the other hand, a large proportion of even the so-called basic schools are not working satisfactorily. This situation has led to a good deal of controversy in recent months. One group of thinkers concludes that basic education has failed and that the entire experiment should be scrapped. Another group is as firmly convinced as ever that the system of basic education is *the* answer to the problems of elementary education in India and pleads for a better and more vigorous implementation of the programme. In between, there is a third group—to which I belong—which believes that the principles on which the scheme of basic education is founded are intrinsically sound and advocates a substantial modification of the scheme with a view to its universalisation in the fourth and the subsequent Plans. A definite decision of policy in this matter is, therefore, needed; and, whatever the decision, it will have to be vigorously implemented during the next fifteen years.

Another illustration can be given by referring to the problem of languages. The three-language formula is not working satisfactorily. It also places an intolerable burden upon the students, especially as three different scripts have to be learnt. For students belonging to linguistic minorities, the total language load increases to four and sometimes to five languages. It would, therefore, be necessary to reconsider the whole problem *de novo* and to decide the languages to be learnt, the proficiency to be attained in each, the stage at which each successive language should be introduced, the methods which should be adopted in teaching them, and, if possible, the desirability and practicability of adopting a common script to all Indian languages.

It is not necessary to continue this discussion further. What I have said above is enough to illustrate that educational planning is now at the cross roads in the country. The next three Plans would have to be very different from the first three and would have to include new policies, new programmes, new priorities and new attitudes to old problems. The success of our educational development and the entire future of the country will depend upon the competence and thoroughness with which we shall attempt these tasks in the next two years.

4

SOME APPROACHES TO THE FOURTH
PLAN IN EDUCATION

I

THE preliminary work on the Fourth Five Year Plan in education has been started, both at the Centre and in the States and some indication of the general thinking on the problem is now available. During the next twenty-four months, the plan will have to be finalised in all its details. It appears to me, therefore, that the next six months could be advantageously devoted to a discussion of the possible different approaches to the Fourth Five Year Plan in education and to the outcomes, advantages and disadvantages of each such approach. Such a discussion alone can enable us to decide upon the most advantageous approach that would secure the best results from the funds invested. This paper is an attempt to 'think aloud' on this issue.

II

The most outstanding aspect of our planning so far is the adoption of the 'comprehensive' as against the 'selected-sector' approach. In other words, we have tried to do something of everything. In the result, the meagre available resources got spread thinly over an undesirably large area and the attempt which began by trying to please all has generally ended in disappointing almost every one. This is one reason why the education programme has the largest number of critics.

Similarly, we have placed great *emphasis on expansion*. This was inevitable for several reasons such as the public hunger for education, the desire to provide equality of educational opportunity by extending educational facilities to rural areas, to girls, to the weaker sections of the community such as the scheduled castes and tribes, the urge to implement the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution, the pressures created from below by the expansion of elementary education which have been gradually

mounting up in secondary and university education, and the provision of very liberal freeships and scholarships. The net effect of all these complex factors is that programmes of expansion have dominated all educational planning in the last 15 years and have, by now, been so deeply built into the system that they threaten to dominate the Fourth Plan as well. They have also led to a *comparative neglect of quality*, especially because of the limited resources available.

The third important feature of the first three plans is that *they are not rooted in any long-term plan and hence live merely from day to day*. As early as 1944, we had the Sargent Plan which tried to outline educational development over a period of forty years (1945-85). But, for several reasons, this was not adopted as a basis of educational development. We should then have prepared another perspective plan of educational development and then prepared our five year plans in the light of that document. This also was not done and, till 1960-61, our educational development was planned on an *ad hoc* short-range basis. When the Third Plan was being prepared, a suggestion was made that it should be oriented against the background of a long range plan of educational development spread over 15 years. But this suggestion was not acted upon. We are now attempting the Fourth Plan; but even at this stage, there appears to be no prospect of preparing a perspective plan to cover the period from 1966 to 1981 and in all probability, the Fourth Plan also will be a short-range plan.

The fourth significant feature of the first three plans is the *lack of emphasis on evaluation—both of results and of techniques*. Planning is a new discipline for us and we can hope to get the best results only if we continue to evaluate our experience and learn from our mistakes. But unfortunately, very little work has been done to evaluate educational developments. The criteria which we have evolved to measure progress are mainly two: enrolments and expenditure; and these are obviously crude and elementary. There is no built-in machinery for evaluation, either at the State level or at the Centre. The *ad hoc* machinery of COPP Teams has been used only in the third Plan and its results are not very distinguished. Consequently, we have not been able to develop adequate techniques of planning, forceful methods of implementation, and most effec-

tive methods of investing the meagre resources available. Even today, very little stock-taking is being done and there is every likelihood that the bulk of our past mistakes would continue to hamper the Fourth Plan also.

We are now at the cross roads in educational planning. Several choices are open to us and we have to decide the choice or choices which can help us best. Fortunately, we are also in a more advantageous position now than at any time in the past, because we have the experience of three Five Year Plans before us. If we make a wise use of this experience, it will be possible for us to prepare a good perspective programme of educational development spread over the next three plans and also the Fourth Five Year Plan.

III

Before we take up the preparation and finalisation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan in earnest, two preliminary exercises will have to be done :

- (1) The preparation of a perspective plan to cover the period from 1966 to 1981; and
- (2) The evaluation of the experience gained in the first three Five-Year Plans, especially with a view to identifying those programmes which have yielded good results and those which have failed.

Perspective Plan: The principal targets and content of the Fourth Five Year Plan can be determined in two ways. The first is to work up from below, that is to say, to project the anticipated enrolment and the essential qualitative programmes in different sectors on the basis of the experience of the three earlier plans. The second is to visualise the position that the country should reach by the end of the Sixth Plan (1980-81) and, by working backwards therefrom to the position likely to be reached at the end of the Third Plan (1965-66), to prepare a broad break up of the educational developments needed in the Fourth, the Fifth and the Sixth Plans. If these two methods are properly worked out, they should not lead to widely divergent conclusions. In the interest of accuracy, however, it is desirable to try both these methods and then to finalise the content of the Fourth Five Year Plan on the combined basis of the results obtained

separately through each of them. If this principle is agreed to, it follows that the work of preparing and finalising the perspective plan of educational development (1966-81) and the Fourth Five Year Plan (1966-71) would have to be pursued simultaneously during the next two years—1964 and 1965. During 1964, the emphasis would be on the preparation of the perspective plan; and, in 1965, the emphasis would naturally shift to the finalisation of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

Evaluation of Past Experience: The second important preliminary exercise is to evaluate the past experience in educational planning with a view to identifying the essential *do's* and *don't's*. For instance, I can readily put down a few programmes which need reconsideration:

(1) *Pattern of school education:* I am afraid that we have made too much of a fetish of the pattern of school classes. It is really an unreal issue. What is important is the provision of facilities in adequate quantity and quality—teachers, buildings, equipments, textbooks, teaching aids and reading materials. Without adequate concentration on these essentials, we have been pursuing the mirage of a 'pattern'. Besides, it is wrong to believe that standards can improve by taking away one year from the college and adding it to the school. In fact, the only result of such a change would be to bring down quality. It is also wrong to cut down the total period of schooling—our attempt must be to expand it continually. It would, therefore, be better if we reexamine our stand on this issue and adopt a reasonable and realistic approach in the Fourth Plan.

(2) *Selection of Schemes:* We have developed a tendency to emphasise schemes where expenditure can be incurred more easily in preference to those where a greater mental exertion is needed. For instance, the schemes of expansion find ready favour with the administrative machinery because, by the simple act of appointing additional teachers, a very large expenditure can be incurred with little or no effort, and the financial targets on which we lay so great an emphasis could be readily fulfilled. On the other hand, a scheme like the preparation of improved textbooks or textbooks for tribal children finds little favour, mainly because it needs an immense amount of human effort and talent but no large scale expenditure. Several examples of this type can be given in every sector of education. In fact,

the programmes we can implement through sheer hard work of the mind and body and which involve little or no extra expenditure are legion. Instead of concentrating on these, we emphasise programmes that need money so that we can rationalise our laziness. This unhappy trend would have to be reversed if we mean to progress quickly.

(3) *Central Grants*: We have tried a number of different bases to provide Central grants to State Governments for educational development. In the First Plan, we evolved a varied and complicated structure of grant-in-aid which included a large number of schemes with different rates of grant-in-aid. Sometimes, the rates of grant-in-aid varied between recurring and non-recurring expenditure in the same scheme. In the Second Plan, this bewildering complexity was reduced by giving assistance to four sectors of education and further step was taken in the Third Plan, when assistance was given to the plan as a whole. While these changes have led to administrative simplicity, the Centre's authority to secure desirable educational development through financial assistance has been considerably reduced and the States have now developed an attitude which amounts in practice to saying: 'give us the money and leave us alone'. In particular, the reduction of the Centrally-sponsored sector to the absolute minimum (as has been done in the Third Plan) has had a very undesirable effect on educational progress. It is, therefore, necessary to examine, *ab initio*, the entire problem of Central grants to State Governments and in particular, the role which a centrally-sponsored sector can play. A good deal of improvement that may or may not happen in the Fourth Plan depends very largely on what the Centrally-sponsored sector is going to be, both in its objectives and quantum.

I do not think that it is necessary to give further illustrations. But an evaluative exercise on the lines indicated above would have to be carried out in every sector of education and it will lead fruitful dividends by suggesting the *do's* and *don't's* for the Fourth Five Year Plan.

IV

Assuming that these two preliminary exercises have been carried out, we can turn to the discussion of the different approaches

aches that may be adopted to educational development in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

The first approach would be a *continuation of the approaches adopted earlier in the first three plans*. In all of them, we adopted the comprehensive approach and tried to do something in every sector, both from the quantitative and the qualitative point of view. Taking the plan as a whole, however, the bulk of resources available in all these three plans were devoted to quantitative expansion and programmes of qualitative improvement were played in a minor key. On all these occasions, planning was done in two stages. In the first stage, a need-based approach was adopted and the financial implications of what was regarded as an irreducible minimum programme of development were worked out. Later on, it was discovered that the actual resources available were only about half of what were needed. The process of cutting down was then undertaken rather hurriedly and, in the final result, the priorities got considerably distorted and schemes of qualitative improvement generally went to the wall. In actual practice, the resources available proved to be of an even smaller order and the priorities got distorted still further. This has become particularly noticeable in the Third Plan.

It appears that this drama, in its entirety, is likely to be repeated with respect to the Fourth Plan as well. A large number of working groups have been set up to consider the programmes of development in the different sectors of education. Each group has prepared an outline of what, in its opinion, is the irreducible minimum programme of development in the concerned sector and has also estimated the financial outlay necessary for it. The sum total of all these programmes is extremely large—about Rs. 25,000 million. The general estimate is that the financial resources available for education in the Fourth Plan would be somewhere between Rs. 8,000 and Rs. 12,000 million. In due course, therefore, the process of cutting down would also be undertaken and one would not be surprised if the Fourth Plan becomes more or less a replica of the Third Plan—which has hardly satisfied the people—on a slightly bigger scale. This is an eventuality which we should try to avoid, if that were possible; and that is essentially the reason for this proposal to work out the implications of a number of alternative approaches before a final decision is taken.

V

An alternative approach would be to decide that *the Fourth Plan should be a plan for consolidation*. There has been a terrific expansion in the first three plans and there is nothing wrong if the Fourth Plan is utilised for consolidation and another spurt of intensive expansion is undertaken in the Fifth Plan. There need be no reduction in the targets of expansion to be reached at the end of the Fifth Plan. But the same point can be reached in two ways: (a) through continuous expansion in the Fourth and Fifth Plan; or (b) an attempt at consolidation in the Fourth Plan followed by an intensive spurt in the Fifth Plan. The thesis presented here is that the second of these is the better alternative.

An approach for consolidation does not imply a total elimination of expansion which is neither possible nor desirable. It, however, means two things: (1) the abandonment of measures, such as the organisation of enrolment drives at the primary stage, which tend to increase the tempo of expansion; and (2) the adoption of measures which, directly or indirectly, tend to cut down expansion. For instance, we may adopt a policy on the lines indicated below:

(1) *Elementary Stage* : The policy of the State should be to provide a school, primary or middle, within easy walking distance of the home of every child. Moreover, admission should not be refused to any child who seeks it. Subject to these limitations, however, any further expansion of elementary education should be left to the normal tempo of development, which may bring in an increase of about 5 per cent per year as against an increase of 8-10 per cent per annum which has been achieved in the Third Plan. Such a policy is not necessarily contradictory to the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution. Compulsory elementary education does not mean straining after the last truant. An enrolment of about 85 per cent of the children in the age-group should be deemed equivalent to the provision of facilities for universal education, and thereafter the emphasis should shift to qualitative improvement. This stage would be reached in all urban areas and in a majority of rural areas by the end of the Third Plan.

(2) *Secondary Education*: Here, the largest expansion has taken place due to three major reasons : (a) the absence of a public examination at the point of transition from the elementary to the secondary stage; (b) a rapid expansion of facilities for free education; and (c) the indiscriminate opening of new secondary schools by relaxing even the minimum conditions required for recognition. In the Fourth Plan, an attempt may be made to provide a secondary school in all those areas which have not been covered already and to bring a secondary school within about 5-7 miles from the home of every child. But some restrictive measures could also be adopted. For instance, the proportion of students in class VIII who pass on to class IX has increased from about 70 per cent in 1949-50 to 80 per cent in 1960-61 and is expected to rise to 90-95 per cent in the Fourth Five Year Plan. The mere introduction of a public examination at the end of class VIII (or class VII, as the case may be) will, apart from improving standards, also cut down the proportion of students passing to higher education very substantially. An increase in fees, or at least the levy of a betterment fund (under which the contributions from children would be utilised to provide improved educational facilities in the school concerned) should be considered. In the same way, a rigorous insistence on the conditions of recognition would also put a break on the present tempo of expansion at this stage.

(3) *Higher Education (General)* : Here also, an insistence on the minimum conditions required for recognition and an increase in fees could be adopted for slowing down the tempo of expansion. At this stage, and also at the secondary stage, there is no intention to prevent the secondary and higher education of any talented child. In fact, this should be encouraged by the provision of scholarships and stipends on a more liberal scale. What is suggested, however, is a reduction in the tempo of expansion in the unwanted sector, i.e. prosecution of studies at the secondary and higher stages by mediocre or sub-standard children who do not profit from such instruction and who may be better diverted to terminal and vocational courses.

This policy does not also imply any diminution in the tempo of expansion in the sectors which badly need such expansion, i.e., vocational and technical education at the secondary and university stages. Here, the tempo of expansion should be

increased to the best extent possible. What is claimed is that a reduction in the tempo of expansion in the general education sector may release the much needed funds for the expansion in the vocational and technical sectors.

A mere reduction of the tempo of expansion does not, in itself, constitute consolidation. It is, even when successful, a merely negative act. What consolidation needs is positive measures for qualitative improvement. For this purpose, programmes of qualitative improvement will have to be identified and the bulk of funds available should be devoted to them. These programmes would include such items as (1) improvement of teachers; (2) provision of adequate buildings and equipment; (3) improvement of supervision; (4) the development of better curricula, textbooks, reading materials and teaching techniques. The nature of the programmes of qualitative improvement may vary from stage to stage and from one State to another. But what is suggested here is that the bulk of the funds available, say about 60-70 per cent, should be devoted to programmes of qualitative improvement and that quantitative expansion should be played in a minor key.

VI

A third alternative approach to the Fourth Five Year Plan would be *to decide that it would make, not a comprehensive approach to educational planning, but a selected sector approach.*

In this approach, the first attempt to be made is to identify those sectors which are extremely vital to the future development of education and to concentrate on them intensively enough to make a real break through. The other sectors are not to be totally neglected; but they are played in a minor key and left mainly to private enterprise with little or no aid from the State. Such a neglect would not do any harm because the neglected areas would be more or less marginal in significance. On the other hand, the country will benefit greatly from the intensive emphasis placed on the really significant sectors.¹

The main difficulty in this approach does not lie so much in deciding which sectors to include, but in determining which

¹ For details, see the paper on *Some Lessons from the Past (1946-65)* pp. 15 ante.

sectors to omit. In this context, it may be pointed out that, at present, we waste a good deal of energy and funds over programmes which can 'at best' be described as of 'fringe' value. Some of the schemes included in the Central sector such as the propagation of Gandhian teachings, financial assistance to voluntary educational organisations, labour and social service camps, campus works projects, etc., may be left out altogether without any harmful effects. They merely succeed in getting a large number of officials busy over petty matters and create an illusion of activity without having any significant impact on the educational problems. Such a step would leave the Ministry free to think of the really vital problems. By and large, what is said here about the Central sector is also applicable to the State schemes.

Shri R. A. Gopalaswami calls this approach "rationing of public expenditure on education" and the expression really conveys the basic idea underlying the proposals. An implementation of this policy will need a firm handling of the priorities involved and a certain mercilessness. This is highly desirable, because one of the major weaknesses of the present day planning is that it has grown too soft and susceptible to all types of pressures.

VII

Three different approaches to the fourth Plan are described above :

- (1) The continuation of the approach adopted in the first three Five Year Plans, namely, comprehensive approach, with an emphasis on quantity and a comparative neglect of quality;
- (2) The Consolidation Approach; and
- (3) The Selected-Sector Approach.

It is also possible to combine these approaches in a number of ways. For instance, we may take the consolidation approach at the primary stage, the expansion approach at the post-graduate stage and the selected-sector approach with regard to teacher training at all stages. But such possible permutations and combinations need not be discussed. What has been stated above is enough to indicate the broad choices open to us in

preparing and finalising the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

To achieve the best results, however, it is necessary to follow up the approach adopted by three further measures :

- (1) Intensive efforts to raise additional resources;
- (2) Evolution of a new concept of the Centrally-sponsored sector; and
- (3) Emphasis on the human factors.

These would be discussed briefly in this and the following two sections.

The first three Five-Year Plans were based on the assumption that the defence expenditure of the country should be kept at the minimum and that most of the resources available should be diverted to development. In the next 10-15 years, this assumption will have to be changed and development will have to be planned, side by side with an attempt to expand the defence potential. This would inevitably place limitations on the funds that the public sector can provide for educational development. It is, therefore, necessary to reverse a trend which has naturally grown up in the first three Plans—the tendency to pass on an ever-increasing financial burden to public funds, particularly to Central and State funds, and to minimise the resources raised in the private sector. In this connection, a number of suggestions can be made from among which a few are given below:

(1) The local communities, through powers of increasing local taxation on land and buildings, can make a much larger contribution to the development of elementary education than they do at present. Any increase in the land taxes at the State level has become politically inconvenient and impossible. Probably, these sources could be exploited better at the local level, if the additional resources could be earmarked for local benefits such as those in the field of elementary education.

(2) We should develop a *school improvement* programme on the lines of the Madras State. Here an intensive effort is made to take the elementary schools closer to the people and to seek assistance from the public for such programmes as construction of buildings, provision of equipment and ancillary services like school meals. So far, Madras has collected about Rs. 550 million through private contributions for the improvement of elementary education. Programmes of this type should

be organised in all parts of the country in the Fourth Plan; and the preparatory work for them should be done in the remaining two years of the Third Plan.

(3) At the secondary and college stages, we should seriously examine the question of increasing fees. We should have an adequate provision of free studentships and scholarships for the gifted children. But it is not these gifted children that are swelling the secondary schools and colleges at present. While we cannot object to the rush of mediocre or even less than mediocre children in secondary schools and colleges, there is hardly any point in spending the hard-earned public funds on their education. We should, therefore, make them pay for their secondary and higher education, if they desire to have it, through a fairly substantial raising of fees.

(4) At the university stage, we should have a scheme of loan scholarships only. The university students would start earning in three or four years and there is no reason why they should not get a loan scholarship and pay for their own higher education.

This proposal needs some elaboration. In this context, it is suggested that we should establish a National Scholarships Corporation of India on the lines of the Life Insurance Corporation. Every student, who gets more than a prescribed percentage of marks in the examination of the secondary school (or in his B.A. or M.A. examination) should be entitled to get a loan scholarship for higher studies. The amount of the scholarship should be adequate to meet his expenses. This loan should be repaid by him in 15 yearly instalments which would begin one year after he gets employment and starts earning, and there should be a statutory provision for collection of instalments, through deduction from his salary, on the lines of the Income-Tax Act. The amount of repayment should be proportionate to his income. In other words, those who get less than a certain income (say, Rs. 150) would not repay it at all. Others would repay it at a certain percentage of their monthly salary; the rate of repayment rising with an increase in salary. No student, however, should be required to pay more than twice the amount that he had borrowed. On actuarial basis, it would be possible to decide the precise contribution of each person for the repayment of this loan, on the basis of his annual or monthly

earnings after employment. In short, what is proposed here is an inverted educational insurance policy. A prudent father now-a-days takes out an educational insurance policy for his child as soon as he is born. He pays the prescribed premia for 15 years and finds that he has, at his disposal, a sum which would enable him to give college education for his child as soon as he attains the age of 16. What is proposed here is exactly the same. But instead of making the parent take the educational insurance policy, it is suggested that the student himself should be made responsible to take it out in an inverted fashion, that is to say, the payments of the policy should be made in the first three to six years and the premia for it should be recovered in the succeeding fifteen years.

It is suggested that, right from now, serious thinking should be undertaken on two lines: (1) the raising of the maximum resources possible in the public sector through according a higher priority to education than it has received in the first three plans; and (2) devising ways and means to supplement the public sector resources through contributions of local bodies, local communities and the parents. It is only this combined approach that would help us to go the longest way.

VIII

The second important point which deserves careful study is *to define the objectives and quantum of the Centrally-sponsored sector*. The State Governments now receive a block assistance for their Plan as a whole. This system has several features to commend it and is likely to continue in the Fourth Plan. There should be no objection to this. It has, however, to be realised that the pattern of assistance for different schemes, under this overall method of Central assistance, has hardly any meaning in actual practice. The States have now realised that our describing some schemes in the Plan as having 100 per cent assistance and others as having 50 per cent assistance does not take them anywhere. Irrespective of the pattern, they do get the Central assistance promised—neither less nor more. What they are now asking for, therefore, is the creation of a large Centrally-sponsored sector. In the set up of the Third Plan, there is hardly any room for this. An important proposal

which we should, therefore, consider for the Fourth Plan is to create a fairly large Centrally-sponsored sector, say, of Rs. 3,000 million or so (or about 30 per cent of the total funds available for educational development in the Fourth Plan).

If this is done, two problems will have to be satisfactorily solved; (a) how are these funds in the Centrally-sponsored sector to be distributed to the different States? and (b) to what purpose are they to be assigned? For the distribution of the amount among the different States, a number of alternatives can be suggested. For instance, we may set aside 20 per cent of the Centrally-sponsored sector for special assistance to the less advanced States and the remaining 80 per cent could be distributed among all the States on the basis of enrolments in schools or total population or any other equitable basis. Alternatively, we may earmark the total amount in the Centrally-sponsored sector to specific purposes (i.e. the development of selected sectors) and then make the grants available to the different States on the basis of their needs and their capacity to spend the amounts usefully. With regard to the second problem, viz., the purposes under which such a Centrally-sponsored sector could be devoted, the main principles would be two: (1) it should be earmarked for sectors like educational research, technical education, post-graduate studies or the development of science for which the Centre has a clearly recognised responsibility; and (2) it should also be earmarked for programmes of qualitative improvement, like teacher education, which always suffer at the State level because the State Governments are more susceptible to pressure of quantitative expansion. A third alternative can also be that, after the funds are allocated to each State on some equitable basis (such as population or student enrolment), each State Government should be left free to choose, with the prior approval of the Central Government, the areas or sectors of qualitative development for which it would utilise these funds.

The main thesis put forward here is that the significant areas of educational development which have a 'seed' value can only be protected adequately by putting them in the Centrally-sponsored sector so that they are comparatively immune to local quantitative pressures. An approach to educational planning on this basis in the Fourth Plan would lead to better results and

would be a definite improvement on the present situation where the Centre does not even know how its grants are being actually utilised in practice until it is too late and is totally helpless to take any remedial measures even in cases where a misuse or mis-direction has come to its notice.

IX

The third important programme is to emphasise the human factor in educational development. Better education does need more investment and more physical resources, no doubt. But it needs the human efforts even more—the combined efforts of the officers of the Education Department, the teachers, the students and the parents. Today, there is a tendency for each of these human agencies to work less and less, both in quantity and in quality, and to demand more of financial investment and physical facilities on the ground that these are inescapable for better education. The fallacy of this trend is obvious and an attempt should be made in the Fourth Plan to organise a nation-wide programme of educational improvement at all stages—from the elementary to the university—by trying to motivate human agencies concerned to a more intensive and a better planned endeavour. The basic assumptions underlying such an important programme may be stated somewhat on the lines indicated below:

(1) The mainspring of the qualitative improvement of education lies in the will and effort of the people concerned with the programme of instruction : (i) parents or the school community, (ii) teachers, (iii) administrative and supervisory personnel, and (iv) students. An intelligently planned and concerted action on the part of these human agencies, continuously maintained over a sufficiently long period, will secure greater improvement in quality than any financial investment, however large, can ever hope to do. The basis of this movement should, therefore, be to motivate these human agencies to put in their best efforts, in a coordinated manner, for the improvement of education and to maintain the tempo of action so generated over a fairly long period, say, the next three Plans.

(2) Every educational institution, even within its existing resources, limited as they may be, can do a great deal to improve

the quality of education it provides, through better planning and harder work. This does not mean that no attempt is to be made to improve the physical resources available to the institution. In fact, one of the primary objectives of the movement would be to try to provide better physical resources to educational institutions through the combined efforts of the State and the community. But what is emphasised is the possibility of improving the educational programme, through better planning and harder work, in spite of the deficiencies in physical resources.

(3) To obtain the best results in the improvement programme, it is essential to regard each institution as a unit, complete in itself, and to prepare a fairly long-range programme for its development, through the concerted thinking of the parents, teachers and the Department, with the specific objective of providing the best possible programme of education to each child enrolled.

(4) The secret of the success of the improvement programme lies in two things : (a) intelligent planning and (b) continuity of effort which should animate all activities, day after day and year after year.

(5) In a situation of the type which we now have in India where human resources are far more plentiful than the physical ones, only those programmes can hope to succeed which understand the use of physical resources and stress the achievements of the human factor through harder, well-planned and continuous effort. So far, the basic approach in programmes of qualitative improvement has stressed the provision of physical facilities rather than the operation of the human factors. The improvement programme aims to reverse this process, and to stress the role which the sum total of the combined efforts of teachers, supervisors, parents and students themselves can make to qualitative improvement of education.

It is possible to organise educational improvement programmes on these lines at all levels and to develop them on a national basis. If the principle is once agreed to, working out the details would not present a major problem.

X

It would have been evident that the primary object of this paper is not to present any ready-made solution to the complex

problems of educational planning that we shall have to face in the Fourth Plan, but to pose certain problems and to initiate thinking in all different quarters which are connected with education—Legislatures, State Education Departments, Universities, press, teachers, and interested and enlightened public. If that were to be secured, the purpose of this preliminary endeavour would have been more than served.

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA (1906-65)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD (1900-47)

THE modern system of education in India was gradually built up, in supersession of the indigenous elementary schools and institutions of higher learning, between 1813 when the East India Company was compelled to accept the responsibility for the education of the Indian people and incur an expenditure of not less than one lakh of rupees a year thereon, and 1947 when the country attained Independence. The basic policies underlying the system were those of an enlightened colonialism. For instance, the dominant objective of the system was to teach the English language and, through it, to familiarise the Indian people with the literature, philosophy and sciences of the West, and incidentally, to train them for various subordinate posts under the Government or for playing a leading role in self-governing institutions in certain specified fields. By and large, the system under-accentuated the preservation and cultivation of Indian culture, although the study of classical languages of India was encouraged to some extent and the ancient classical literature was studied in the Universities. The modern languages of India received some impetus in the early days, especially as educated Indians began to write in them for the masses of the people, but they could never come into their own because they were not adopted as languages of administration or as media of instruction in higher education. The concept of a national language was never visualised and it was rather naively assumed that English would be the national language of India. As the general policy of Government was that of non-interference in social and religious matters, except in a few glaring instances, such as *Sati* or female infanticide, education never aimed at bringing about a social revolution; and a few social reforms that did result in this period were due mainly to the inspired guidance

of a few social reformers and the indirect pressures created by the spread of education and industry. Similarly, no attempt was made to educate the masses, the declared policy of Government being only to educate a class and then leave it to this class to educate the masses. In the economic field, the British rulers mainly looked upon India as the supplier of raw materials to British Industry and as the consumer of its finished products. Consequently, the educational system did not aim at rapid industrialisation and the development of technical education, although it took some steps to improve agriculture and to spread agricultural education. It is true that the British Government was doing what it best could do or what it thought was really good for the people. But an educational system with such limited aims could not obviously have met the aspirations of a nation; and as may be easily imagined, the gulf between the achievements or promises of the educational system and the national aspirations began to widen rapidly as the political conscience of the country was awakened and the people began to demand, first home rule, then dominion status, and finally complete independence. It is out of the dissatisfaction arising from this ever-widening gulf that the concept of 'national education' was first born.

The first great clash on educational ideology, between the British Imperialists ruling in India on the one hand, and the growing body of Indian national leaders on the other, occurred in the first decade of this century. The bitterness between these two groups reached its highest point with the partition of Bengal out of which the *Swadeshi* movement was born. It was economic in origin and application; but it soon extended itself to almost every walk of life and a demand for *Swadeshi* education, commonly described as 'national' education, also came to be put forward. The spearhead of the movement was provided by the Resolution of the Calcutta Congress (1906) which said that the time had arrived 'for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of *national* education for both boys and girls and to organise a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country, on *national* lines and under *national* control and directed towards the realisation of *national* destiny'.

Obviously, the first task in the movement was to define the

objectives and programmes of national education. This was done in the next ten or fifteen years and the main facets of the theories evolved can be seen in the writings of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Annie Besant, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mahatma Gandhi. In a way, the task was comparatively easy because national education was mainly to be defined with reference to the existing system of colonial education and was expected, on the one hand, to avoid its shortcomings and, on the other, to provide for those national aspirations for which the official system did not cater. For instance, national education was to be distinguished by being Indian in every respect: it must be 'controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians'. It was to emphasise the 'love of the mother-land' as against 'loyalty to the British Crown' preached in the official system. It was to inculcate a faith in and love for our ancient traditions and culture as against the scant respect which was paid to them in official circles. National education, it was said, must live 'in an atmosphere of proud and glorious patriotism', must uphold 'Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom and morality', must be 'permeated by the Indian religious spirit' and must be largely devoted to the 'study of Indian literature, Indian history, Indian science in art, politics, war, colonialism, manufactures, trade and commerce'. The official system tended to be a servile imitation of British precedents and to create 'a lesser Britain' in India. National education, on the other hand, taught that India should remain itself and attain to and transcend its ancient glory. The tyranny of English, which dominated the official system of education, was to be done away with and the modern languages of India were to be used as media of instruction. Vocational and technical education was to be emphasised in contrast with the academic and book-centred official system of education and one of the first aims of national education was 'to increase the productive capacity of its citizens'. While the official system spoke of social non-intervention, national education was not to fight shy of social reforms and was to attempt passionately to create a new social order based on justice and equality. To these ideas, Gokhale added his concept of compulsory education for the masses and Gandhiji contributed his scheme of basic education, the development of Hindustani as a national language, and several programmes of social amelio-

ration such as the uplift of women, *Harijans* and *Adivasis*. These were great ideas indeed and although the emphasis has changed to some extent owing to social and political developments, they largely dominate the thinking on the subject even today.

The determination of the objectives of national education was necessary but not sufficient. The leaders of the movement had to attempt several more difficult problems such as organisation of institutions imparting national education at all stages—from pre-primary to post-graduate; preparation of curricula and courses in keeping with the new objectives; securing and training the needed teachers; persuading parents to send their children to national schools in preference to the official ones; securing social recognition for the degrees, diplomas and certificates granted by national institutions; and raising the huge funds required for their maintenance. The last of these was particularly difficult because national institutions, by their very definition, would not seek either recognition or aid from Government and had to be entirely supported by public contributions.

In spite of these tremendous odds, the task was attempted on a fair scale and implemented with considerable efficiency in two spurts. The first of these came in the wake of *Swadeshi* Movement and was mainly restricted to Bengal, where a society was established for the Promotion of National Education under the Chairmanship of Sri Gurudas Bannerjee. It conducted more than fifty national high schools. But even by the beginning of the First World War, the enthusiasm waned and the movement almost collapsed. The second spurt came in the wake of Non-Cooperation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. The Non-Cooperation Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at Nagpur (1920) advised the 'gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, aided or controlled by Government, and, in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges'. Thousands of students followed this direction and hundreds of national institutions were established for continuing their education. But this spurt also waned as the Non-cooperation Movement was withdrawn and by 1922, most of the national education institutions had disappeared and their students had rejoined the official schools and colleges.

This inability to evolve a nationwide scheme of educational

institutions, functioning on national lines, made the leaders review the entire position. They soon realised that the establishment of a countrywide network of national schools cannot be attempted through private enterprise alone. 'A national system of education', it was said, 'must be provided for, financed and controlled by the nation, and in performing that function, the nation must be represented by the "state".' It was, therefore, advocated that the winning of political freedom and the conversion of the *State* itself into a national agency was a condition precedent to the creation of a national system of education. This view came to be generally accepted with the result that the practical programme of national education was now restricted to the maintenance of a few institutions doing pioneering work, such as the Kashi Vidyapeeth, the Viswa-Bharati, the Gurukul Institutions, the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth or the Jamia Millia Islamia, and the incorporation of national ideals in the official system of education in its entirety was postponed to the post-Independence period.

THE SARGENT PLAN (1944)

As the Second World War was coming to a close, the Central Advisory Board of Education prepared and put forward a proposal of Post-War Educational Development in India (1944) known popularly as the Sargent Plan, after Sir John Sargent who was then the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India and who took a leading part in its formulation. This may be described as the first official attempt to put forward a programme for the creation of a national system of education for the country. It visualises a vast net-work of educational institutions, which included the provision of schooling facilities for one child in every 21 at the pre-primary stage, for compulsory education on basic lines for all children in the age group 6-13, secondary education for selected and gifted children (for one child out of every five who complete the primary course), university education for one out of every fifteen students who complete the secondary school, a fair-sized programme of technical education and the provision of other essential ancillary services. It was spread over a period of 40 years (1945-84) and was estimated to cost about Rs. 3,120 million a year which, on the then estimated population

of 290 million, works out roughly at Rs. 11 per head of population at the 1939 prices. Admirable as the proposal was, it did not catch popular imagination for several reasons, the most important being the failure to relate its programmes to national aspirations. It did not seek to identify national goals in social, cultural, political and economic development, mainly because it was essentially the effort of an alien government, unsupported by the national leaders most of whom were in jail at the time it was being formulated. Its main claim was that it sought to create, by 1985, an educational system in India which would be almost similar to that which already existed in most of the advanced countries of the West before the Second World War. Quite obviously, this objective was too tame to stir popular enthusiasm. The span of time which it visualised—40 years—was also felt to be too long and there was a strong feeling that it should be reduced to 10 or 15 years. While its programme of universal basic education for all children in the age-group 6-13 was totally accepted (in fact, this was the only part of its proposals which came to be incorporated in official policies of educational development in the post-war period), there was no popular sympathy with its proposals of restricting admissions to secondary schools and colleges on a highly selective basis, nor with its tame and limited programmes for the development of technical education. The Sargent Plan thus stands out as the first comprehensive effort ever made in the educational history of this country to conceptualise a national system of education; but it is only of historical importance at present because, by and large, it never formed the basis of educational policies in the post-independence period. The Kher Committee modified its proposals and reduced its span from forty years (1945-84) to sixteen years (1945-60) and with this modification, its programme of providing free and compulsory education for all children till they reach the age of 14 years, came to be incorporated in Article 45 of the Constitution. This remains its one and only, but extremely significant contribution to the system of education in the country.

A PIECE-MEAL APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION (1947-64)

With the attainment of independence, all the earlier ideas of the development of a national system of education for the country

which had been deliberately put in cold storage between 1921 and 1947 came to the surface. There was a great enthusiasm for educational reconstruction, as comprehensive and as revolutionary as possible. The broad tenor of popular thought on this subject is well reflected in the speech of the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Educational Conference which was convened by the Ministry of Education in 1948. He said: 'Whenever conferences were called in the past to form a plan for education in India, the tendency as a rule was to maintain the existing with slight modifications. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must keep pace with them. The entire basis of education must be revolutionised.'

If justice was to be done to these sentiments, the most urgent requirement was to view the problem of educational development comprehensively and in a revolutionary spirit. The best step would have been to constitute an Education Commission to examine the entire spectrum of educational reconstruction and to prepare an integrated and long-term educational plan: integrated in two ways—firstly, between the different sectors of education itself and secondly, between education and other sectors of life, social, cultural, political and economic. Such a Commission, if it had been appointed immediately after the Educational Conference of 1948, would have been able to present its report by 1950. This would have had two significant gains. Firstly, the constitutional provisions relating to education could then have arisen, not out of past traditions or on an *ad hoc* basis as they did, but out of the considered recommendations of the Commission and from the needs of projected programmes of educational reconstruction. Secondly, the educational developments in the first three Five Year Plans would then have been, not the outcome of unplanned social and political pressures, but a gradual unfolding of the far-sighted and comprehensive recommendations which the Commission would have placed before the country.

Unfortunately, such a comprehensive and revolutionary approach to the problem was never made. A University Education Commission was appointed in 1948 and a Secondary Education Commission followed, four years later, in 1952. A Commission for Elementary Education was never appointed, prob-

ably on the ground that there is nothing more to be added to the proposals for universalising basic education which were made by the Sargent Plan and accepted by the Central and State Governments. Even for the development of technical education and scientific research, no Commission was ever appointed, although the gap has been filled to a very great extent by the reports of several important committees such as the Scientific Manpower Committee and the excellent work done by the All-India Council for Technical Education and its Regional Committees. In other sectors of education, a very large number of problems have been examined at various intervals through a number of committees appointed by the Government of India, the Central Advisory Board of Education and the State Governments. This piece-meal approach has created a plethora of reports and recommendations. But the wood was lost for the trees and in the multiplicity of bodies making recommendations, on every conceivable subject, the central vision of a national system of education was almost lost. Of course, by a sheer force of habit, we continued to talk of a 'revolutionary change' in education. But in actual practice, we mostly concentrated on expansion and on carrying out a few marginal changes which could, at best, be described as 'moderate reformism'. The problem of creating a national system of education has, therefore, never been faced up squarely so far in the post-independence period, although the educational developments of the last seventeen years will have their own contribution to make its ultimate build-up.

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR INDIA

WHAT does one precisely mean by the term a 'national system of education'? Sometimes, the word is used in the sense of 'nation-wide' or covering the entire area of the country concerned. For instance, in U.S.A., where education is an exclusive State responsibility and the educational system varies considerably from State to State, it is often said that there is no 'national' system of education in America and that there are as many systems of education as there are States. There is a very large group of persons in India who use the expression, 'a national system of education' in this sense of a common educational system covering the entire area of the country. What they demand is a uniform system of school and college classes in all the States and Union Territories, with common curricula and, if possible, common textbooks. It is obvious, however, that such colourless uniformity is neither desirable nor in keeping with Indian traditions which emphasise, not uniformity, but 'unity in diversity'. Moreover, the different States of India have such large populations that each of them can be a viable unit for an independent educational experiment. Progress ultimately lies in trying out different ideas and it would, therefore, be in the larger interests of the country to permit the States to try out different experiments suited to their local conditions and requirements. Such a diversified system has also a larger built-in safety factor because the failure of any single experiment will not do much harm, whereas the failure of a uniform experiment adopted on a nation-wide basis can be a catastrophe of the highest magnitude. Whatever the ultimate decision on a national system of education for India may be, one thing is, therefore, certain: it cannot mean the adoption of a regimented or uniform pattern of education in all the States and Union Territories. On the other hand, it will imply a system which has a common underlying unity of purposes, beliefs and values while permitting, at the same time,

a good deal of latitude to the different units of the Union to try out local experiments suited to their needs and conditions.

There is another sense in which the expression 'a national system of education' is often used, viz. as a merely descriptive phrase meaning 'of or belonging to a country' without any qualitative connotations of values or purposes. For instance, the existing system of education in U.K., U.S.A., or U.S.S.R. may be described as the British, American, or Russian systems of education. From this point of view, any system of education that exists in India at any given moment may be considered to be its national system of education for the time being. It needs hardly any argument to show that this is not the sense in which the expression was used when, in the pre-independence period, the people agitated for a 'national' system of education. Obviously, the expression 'a national system of education for India' has a very high qualitative connotation and means either 'a system of education which will help the country to attain its national goals' or 'a system of education which will help the country to make the best response possible to the challenges that are facing it at present' or both. It is these wide qualitative connotations of the expression that raise several vital problems of the highest significance.

On the basis of the first definition, one will have to identify the national goals in the first instance and then try to conceptualise an educational system which will assist the country to realise them. It must be remembered, however, that such an attempt is not always made. In England, for instance, there has hardly ever been any discussion of national goals and education has almost always been defined with reference to the individual—his aptitudes, interests and potential for growth. The same might be said of U.S.A. In fact, the democratic tradition in education is to emphasise the worthwhileness of the individual and to underaccentuate the definition of social or national goals. The modern trend towards internationalism or humanism, which believes that the development of sovereign and over-conscious nationalist States can only lead to wars and destruction of humanity, also discourages the definition of national goals—an exercise which often tends to encourage militant nationalism. It must also be remembered that the definition of national goals and the organisation of educational system to

achieve them was first attempted by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in the wake of their characteristic philosophy of subordinating the individual to the society or the nation. Before one proceeds to define the national goals for India and to base the concept of a national system of education on them, the very desirability of the exercise has to be first established.

The main justification for orientating a national system of education to the definition and realisation of national goals arises from the adoption of the techniques of planned development. The first requisite of planned development of a society or a nation is to state what it desires to be, its philosophy of life, and the ends and means of its development; or in other words, its social or national goals. Since India has taken the decision to plan its future, a definition of national goals is inescapable and only that system of education which will enable it to reach these goals can be labelled as its national system of education. It is also very easy to point out that the definition of such national goals need not necessarily encourage militant nationalism, especially because non-alignment, co-existence, international understanding and tireless pursuit of peace can themselves be accepted as significant national goals. Similarly, there need be no inherent contradiction in the definition of national goals and the freedom of the individual, especially if one accepts democracy, which reconciles the social and individual interests in the best possible manner. In fact, even the older democracies have now begun to think in terms of national goals, although the movement has not made any considerable impact on popular thinking. For instance, since the loss of its pre-eminent status in the comity of nations as a result of the Second World War, a group of thinkers in England have seriously begun to consider the definition of national goals and of devising educational policies suited for their realisation. An interesting study in this field is the *Social Purposes of Education* by K.G. Collier which suggests educational policies on the assumption that England is now 'faced with a very severe challenge, in the shape of various economic, social and moral changes, and (that) its future depends on the response (it makes) to this challenge'.¹ Similarly, the confrontation with the recent successes of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3

Soviet Union, due obviously to its educational system, has also induced several Americans to think of national goals.² These attempts, it may be admitted, are not very successful nor have they become very popular. But they are evidence enough to show that the old stigma no longer attaches to the definition of national goals even in the oldest and staunchest of democracies.

The alternative approach of defining a national system of education as one which helps a country to provide the best response to the challenges facing it, hardly needs an apology for its statement. The idea of challenge and response is a very familiar phenomenon of life and operates at various levels. There are hundreds of instances of individuals who, when faced with apparently insurmountable difficulties, made an outstanding response to overcome them successfully and rose to unimaginable heights. President Roosevelt, for instance, was crippled by polio but still managed to be the President of U.S.A. Beethoven created some of the greatest music of the world in spite of his deafness. On the other hand, there are millions of individuals who fail to make such a response when threatened by difficulties and consequently go under. The concept has now been elevated and applied to social groups (and even to nations) by Toynbee who points out that social classes or nations survive, or go under, as they make, or fail to make, an adequate response to the challenges facing them. The ruling classes in France in the eighteenth century failed to recognise the right of the poorer classes to a better standard of living and of the middle classes to a greater share in the government of the country. They neither understood the gravity of the situation, nor had the courage to give way gracefully with the result that they were practically wiped out. As a contrast to this failure, one may cite the example of the Indian community between 1850 and 1950. It had to meet the challenge of a political conquest followed by a more insidious attempt of the conquerors to impose intellectual chains of slavery through a system of education which tried to cut it off from its

² See *Education: An Instrument of National Goals* by Paul Hanna, McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, 1962. The book contains eleven essays on the subject by different authorities. It has many good points; but as Cowley remarks, the majority of people have written on the subject 'on black paper with ink manufactured from a compound of tears, Vodka & Castor oil'.

national moorings. The response was splendid. A number of national leaders were born who made the people have great faith and pride in its ancient cultural heritage and, on this basis, organised social and political movements which ultimately won freedom. Toynbee's masterly theory of challenge and response in the life of the nations is thus profoundly true. At several moments in their life, nations are threatened by peculiar and extraordinary challenges; and they survive or go under depending upon the effectiveness of the response they can make to the challenge.

It is obvious that India is now facing the worst ever challenge in its long recorded history of more than six thousand years. The appalling poverty of the masses, which has dogged the footsteps of the country for more than a hundred years, is now immensely accentuated by the population explosion. Educationally, the country has only a small class of indifferently educated persons while the masses are still illiterate and ignorant. The prevailing technology is largely primitive and we still live in, what Pandit Nehru called, the 'cow-dung era'. The very unity of the nation, which was more apparent than real while fighting with an alien power, is now threatened with several fissiparous tendencies. Social cohesion, never very strong, is now probably at its lowest ebb due to an upsurge of parochial or casteist considerations and the still unresolved problems of Hindu-Muslim unity. In the political field, the only organised party which won the freedom is now beset with factions, groupism and internal squabbles of an unprecedented character and there is no other well-organised nation-wide political party to take its place. The great creative impulse which the country revealed in throwing up a galaxy of great men to fight with British imperialism now appears to be on the wane and we do not seem to have any giants in our midst comparable to those who lived and fought for us between 1860 and 1960. The old faith and values in life are slipping fast under our feet and their place has not yet been taken up by new ones with the result that there is an immense crisis of character which manifests itself in reprehensible and disorderly behaviour among students and in corruption and inefficiency in official and public life. To crown all, there is the recent threat from China, a threat which is not only national but international because

the future of democracy in Asia, and ultimately in the world, will largely depend upon its outcome. Not only was the country never faced with such challenges in its earlier history, one may even doubt whether any country, not exclusive of Britain after Dunkirk, was ever faced with challenges of such gravity and magnitude.

It is obvious that the response to this challenge will have to be equally great and powerful in order to succeed. The planning of the proper response to this challenge and the training of all the adults and the rising generations to organise it is essentially an educational task; and it is only that system of education which can generate and maintain the proper response to this challenge on an adequate scale till the dangers are past, is worthy of ever being designated as the national system of education in India.

One more point. It may incidentally be pointed out that two different approaches, viz. (1) defining national goals and conceptualising the educational system needed to realise them, and (2) organising a proper and adequate response to meet the threatening challenges of the day, are not contradictory to one another. When one considers the goals to be realised, he is more inclined to take a long-term look at education. On the other hand, it is the short-term objectives that get more emphasised when one is thinking of the proper response to challenge. The two approaches are thus complementary to each other and, for a complete picture of the problem, it is necessary to take both of them together and to integrate the results into a common group of objectives and techniques of national educational development—both long-term and short-term. It is on the basis of this combined approach that the main issues relating to the creation of a national system of education for India will be discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

NATIONAL GOALS AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Let us begin with a statement of national goals as they have been identified in the post-Independence period. Some of these were formulated at the time of framing the Constitution and have been incorporated into it. The first is *democracy*. The Constitution declares India to be a sovereign democratic republic which would assure the dignity of the individual and

secure, to all its citizens, social, economic and political justice. It adopts adult franchise and direct elections to Central and State Legislatures, guarantees essential fundamental rights, safeguards the interests of minorities and backward communities, ensures equality before law and in regard to education and employment, prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth and abolishes untouchability. As an inescapable corollary of this basic decision, Art. 45 directs the State to provide, within a period of ten years, free and compulsory education for all children till they reach the age of 14. The second is *secularism*. The State has no religion and it also treats all religions alike, in the sense that all persons have an equal right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion, to establish and maintain religious institutions and to manage their own religious affairs. Moreover, no religious instruction can be provided in educational institutions wholly maintained out of State funds while, in private institutions aided from State funds, no religious instruction can be made compulsory for any child against the wishes of his guardian.

To these two important national goals, three others have been added in the course of the last seventeen years and especially since the adoption of the technique of planned development. The first is *to eliminate poverty* and to raise the standards of living of the people rapidly through the modernisation of agriculture and rapid industrialisation. To this end, it has also been decided to adopt science and technology which is also the most important factor in the conversion of a traditional into a modern society—a transformation which is inescapably connected with the cultural renaissance of the society as a whole. The second is *to create a socialistic pattern of society*—a goal which is implicit in the Constitution itself. Art. 39 provides that the State shall adopt a policy which will ensure that 'ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good' and that the 'operation of the economic system does not result in concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment'. The third is the *national integration*, the need for which began to be felt keenly as several fissiparous tendencies began to come to the surface, especially after the

reorganisation of States in 1959 and which is essential to the maintenance of the hard-won freedom of the country. This has become especially prominent since the Chinese aggression of 1962, which has shown that Chinese expansionism now poses a very real threat to Indian freedom and to all the Indian values in life. These five national goals are at the very basis of all developmental plans, including those of education.

Such identification of national goals is necessary but not sufficient to build up a philosophy of education. As Brubacher has observed : 'the schools complete and consolidate a change decided elsewhere, whether by bullets or by ballot.' In other words, the identification of national goals merely sets difficult and challenging tasks to the educators and forms the first step in building up a philosophy of education. The next step is to conceptualise the educational implications of such national goals which may be described as the 'topical' objectives of education (because they relate to a particular country at a particular moment of its history) to distinguish them from the 'absolute' objectives of education such as 'harmonious development of the personality of child', 'the building up of character' or 'preparation for life' which apply to all countries at all times. Unfortunately, we have concentrated far too much on the absolute objectives of education while its topical objectives have been comparatively neglected. A philosophy of education can, however, be created only by a combination of the absolute and the topical objectives—an exercise which is still to be attempted.

When we desire to create, not only a philosophy, but a practical programme of educational reconstruction—and this is precisely what one means by developing a national system of education—we need something more than the conceptualisation of the educational implications of national goals. This has to be followed up by the preparation of detailed curricula and programmes of instruction at all stages with a view to the inculcation of the educational objectives in the minds of the rising generation, by the organisation of an institutional set-up suited for their realisation, by the adequate and intensive preparation of teachers who would appreciate them and would be able to conduct the instructional programmes with effectiveness and

by setting up of an evaluative machinery which can examine, from time to time, the manner and the extent in which the rising generation is actually absorbing these ideals. It is these areas which need the intensive attention of thinkers from a large number of allied disciplines—educationists, philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, administrators, political thinkers and others. But unfortunately no large-scale effort has been made so far to bring these related disciplines to bear intensively upon the problems involved so as to translate the philosophical objectives of education into day-to-day programmes of school instruction which the teachers can put across with ease and efficiency. Educationists still largely confine themselves to merely class-room teaching or pedagogy and the only allied discipline which is studied to some extent is educational psychology. Consequently, very little work has been done, in the last few years, to elucidate the full educational implications of these national goals and to translate them in educational practice in terms of curricula, teaching methods, learning materials, organisation of institutions, preparations of teachers, administration and finance. It is these problems that will have to be emphasised in the educational reconstruction of tomorrow.

DEMOCRACY

With these preliminary observations, let us proceed to discuss the educational implications of the five national goals which have been identified in the post-Independence period.

The first, and by far the most significant, of these is democracy which we have accepted, not only as a form of political government, but also as a way of life. It is, therefore, the responsibility of schools to 'consolidate' democracy, i.e. to build up attitudes and values in the minds of the rising generation which will make democracy an integral part of the personality of each child. Fortunately, the results of a good deal of thinking and research carried out on 'education for democracy' in the older democracies like U.K. or U.S.A. are readily available for use in this context. We realise, for instance, that democracy implies a great emphasis on 'educating the masters' or the adult voters. A programme for mass education which will include, not only

liquidation of illiteracy, but the formation of an enlightened public opinion on every significant issue before the country, is thus an essential pre-requisite for a successful democracy. It also needs a system of free and compulsory education for children, as visualised in Article 45 of the Constitution, supplemented by a system of secondary and university education of high quality to train the leadership needed in all walks of life. What is of far greater importance, it also implies the development of such qualities as self-control, tolerance, mutual goodwill and willingness to listen and, where necessary, to concede to the other points of view. It also implies the cultivation of new attitudes such as putting 'principles' above 'personalities' and giving loyalties to institutions and ideas rather than to 'individuals'. It has also large implications for educational administration which should be largely decentralised and based on the voluntary and responsive participation of all concerned and for the techniques of teaching—both curricular and extra-curricular—which should encourage free thinking, discussion, consideration for others, and participation in common programmes. Obviously, the stability of a democracy is directly proportional to the effectiveness with which these basic democratic attitudes become the warp and woof of the texture of popular thinking and behaviour.

Our main weaknesses cannot, therefore, be ignorance of what 'education for democracy' really implies and needs. The problem here arises, not from any lack of knowledge or failure to conceptualise, but from poor or indifferent implementation of known ideas which incidentally is a far more frequent experience in our educational set-up. For instance, we have not been able to liquidate mass illiteracy nor to provide free and compulsory elementary education. Our system of secondary and higher education is weak, especially in terms of quality, and does not provide that type of leadership in various walks of life which is essential to realise our goals. In particular, the leadership is very weak in the rural sector where the persons in key positions, such as good farmers or artisans, members of cooperative societies or Panchayati Raj institutions, etc. have received little or no education and still have such tribal, feudal or other reactionary attitudes as are diametrically opposed to the requirements of the new social order we are wanting to

create.³ Similarly, our teachers have but a very imperfect understanding of all the implications of education for democracy and the teaching methods in our schools (and probably also in colleges) are more in the traditional dictatorial attitude of 'you must learn what I teach' rather in the truly democratic technique of leading the students on for free thinking, rational judgment and discovery for oneself. The experiment of pupil self-government has now been introduced in most schools—and that probably is the one major technique adopted for inculcating democratic ideas and attitudes—but its implementation leaves much to be desired. For instance, one often comes across, even in remote rural areas, a school which will have its Chief Minister, Health Minister and a full-fledged Cabinet of Ministers. One often wonders whether the experiment really inculcates democratic attitudes or merely aggravates the unfortunate trend of the present Indian society to overemphasise politics and political figures. Very little evaluation of this subject has been made. But a research project carried out by the Vidya Bhawan G.S. Teachers' College, Udaipur, on 'Education and Democratic Attitudes in Schools' showed that our teachers do not always have a clear concept of what democracy means, what the democratic attitudes are and what the methods of teaching and school organisation should be to promote them. Even the students get very little insight into the meaning of democracy and democratic institutions and values—this is true of even the secondary stage, to say nothing of the elementary.⁴ It may be worthwhile to carry out some fact-finding studies about the extent to which teachers and students at different levels are conscious of the educational implications

³ This problem of leadership in rural areas has received far too little attention so far. The official leadership in this sector is limited to the village teacher, the gram-sevak or the village Patwari and at best, to the functionaries of the Community Development Block Team. It has its own obvious limitations. For non-official leadership, almost nothing has been done except the abortive experiment of Janata Colleges patterned on the Folk High Schools of Denmark, and some schemes for the training of members of Panchayati Raj institutions which are now being implemented by the Community Development Administration. One of the major areas for investigation, therefore, is the existing pattern of rural leadership and the educational programmes needed to vitalise it and to gear it to the creation of a modern society.

⁴ For details see 'Education and Democratic Attitudes in Schools' included in *Educational Studies and Investigations*, Vol. I, published by the National Council of Educational Research and Training, 1961.

of the adoption of democracy as a national goal and the extent to which the present curricula and techniques of teaching succeed in training them in a democratic way of life.

Even to a casual student, it soon becomes obvious that political democracy in India is not working satisfactorily and that we still have a very long way to go to create a really democratic way of life. There is nothing surprising in this. Democracy is a very difficult and challenging form of government to practise and still more so as a way of life. It is comparatively new to the world and very few countries have made a success of it. In spite of the fact certain forms of a tribal democracy were evolved and practised in ancient India, these were so encrusted with later feudal and casteist developments that democracy may be said to be new even to modern India. Its acceptance by the country is not the result of any deliberate decision on the part of the masses: it is mainly due to our association with the British people and to the lead given by the national leaders of the last hundred years who were brought up under the influence of the liberal democratic traditions of Britain. In fact, it is very easy to see how thin the democratic veneer of Indian life is at present. For instance, caste is diametrically opposed to all concepts of democracy; and yet democracy in India has accepted caste and is thriving on it. Leaders of the majority castes have accepted democracy, not so much because of the intrinsic conviction of its worthwhileness as because of their shrewd perception that this form of government would immediately enable them to oust the gifted and powerful but minority communities of the Brahmins, Banias or the Zamindars and Princes. Caste is now a powerful factor in the winning of elections and the setting up of a candidate very often depends, not so much upon his personal merit as upon the votes of the dominant castes in his constituency; and this regrettable fact, which is anything but democratic, is almost the order of the day in political elections. Similarly, what has now been created in the country is not strictly a form of democracy but a form of 'bossism'—a system in which a few important people control votes by hook or crook (more often by crook) at the local level and all the elected representatives at higher levels try to retain their position by establishing personal equations with these local bosses and by trying to meet their demands, fair or foul, in all possible ways. Similar

comments may also be made regarding our success in creating a democratic way of life. Our attitudes are still very largely personal and feudal; and many of the social reforms based on democratic values are not implemented in practice because the essential democratic attitudes just do not exist. For instance, the Hansa Mehta Committee pointed out that the *de jure* equality granted to women in the Constitution is not effective in practice because there is a great ignorance concerning the real nature of sex differences and that the traditional attitudes of the superiority of men over women and a double standard of morality still largely dominate the popular mind.⁵ It is, therefore, obvious that the consolidation of democracy in our political life and its purification, or the implementation of social reforms tending to equality, will not be successful unless a very big effort is made, through the educational system of the country, to inculcate the democratic attitudes and values among the adults and the rising generation.

SECULARISM

The second important goal is that of secularism. Obviously, the subject is of very great importance because it is only a secular democracy which can hope to succeed in a multi-religious country like India. However, our acceptance of secularism, as in the case of democracy, is due, not so much to any fundamental convictions on the subject, as to certain accidents of history: the policy of non-intervention in religious and social matters which the British Government adopted on grounds of expediency and which we decided to continue for precisely the same reasons and the great vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was convinced that India must adopt secularism to live and to grow. But unfortunately this intricate problem has not received much attention and, unlike democracy, there is very little that we can borrow from other countries to help us in this sector.

There are some controversies regarding the concept of a secular State and the type of secularism that ultimately emerges from the constitutional provisions.⁶ We are not directly concerned

⁵ *Differentiation of Curricula for Boys and Girls*, Ministry of Education, 1964.

⁶ The following books may also be seen: (1) Ved Prakash Luthera: *The Concept of the Secular State and India*, (2) Prof. Donald Eugene Smith: *India as a Secular State*.

with these politico-legal aspects of the problem but with the educational implications of secularism. The present position on this issue seems to be that the objectives of national secularism would be served if (1) no religious instruction is provided in government schools and colleges; and (2) if, in private institutions aided from State funds, no religious instruction is made compulsory for any child against the wish of his guardian. These are not original decisions of ours—they had already been taken and implemented by the British Government for over 150 years and we have merely continued them. Besides, the first of these is the accepted policy in U.S.A. and Australia and the second is the Indian equivalent of the 'conscience clause' which was evolved in England in the nineteenth century. It thus appears that we have created a new concept of secularism in theory but have equated its educational implications in practice to the earlier British policy of religious non-intervention.

Is this purely negative attitude to religious instruction in schools the only requirement of creating secularism in India? Obviously not; and it would readily be granted that we have to take some positive and concrete steps to develop secularism as a way of life just as we have to foster democracy as a way of life. From this point of view, we find that even a clarity of concepts does not exist. The present proposals on the subject may, for example, be summed up as follows:

(a) There is a large group of persons, even amongst the Hindus, who strongly plead for the imparting of religious instruction in schools. They admit that the constitutional provisions, as they stand at present, will not permit this; but they have no hesitation in suggesting that the Constitution needs amendment on this score. There is also a very strong demand among the Muslims that religious education should be provided in schools. In order to give this facility to the Muslim children, they would also equally support the provision of similar facilities to the children from other religions as well. But the administrative and financial implications of this proposal are almost prohibitive and when one considers them, one suddenly realises that the British decision of not providing religious instruction in the schools was as much administrative and financial as socio-political.

(b) Even under the present Constitution, it is possible for the different religious groups to maintain private schools where religious instruction can be provided. Fortunately, it will not be possible for the different religious groups to avail themselves fully of this concession under the Constitution. But if they do, the State system of education will almost have to be liquidated and the children belonging to each religion will grow up in isolation from one another right from childhood with the result that social cohesion will be lost and the very freedom and integrity of the nation would be endangered.

(c) Another view, which is recently coming up, is that not formal religious instruction, but moral and spiritual instruction combined, at appropriate levels and in appropriate manner, with studies in comparative religion, may be provided in schools. Apparently this gets over some constitutional objections; and consequently this approach has been adopted by Sri Prakasa Committee⁷ which was appointed by the Ministry of Education. Its report has since been published and some work to implement its recommendations has also been done. But it is soon found that all the difficulties inherent in religious education again come up under this approach at a slightly later stage. For instance, it would be very difficult to come to a unanimous agreement on a programme of 'moral and spiritual instruction' to be given in the schools to which the followers of all religions would wholeheartedly subscribe. In the absence of such agreement, the chances of the programme making any progress are very meagre.

We are thus faced with two major problems. The first is to evolve a positive attitude to secularism which implies, not indifference to religion, but a sympathetic understanding of all religions and a willingness to treat religion as a purely personal affair which does not prejudice social or national policies. Somehow measures have to be taken to see that the followers of each religion get a sympathetic understanding of the other religions in the country and develop an attitude of goodwill, tolerance, cooperativeness and co-existence towards them. This is not happening in our schools at all. In fact, whatever little evidence is available goes the other way and shows that, even amongst the highly educated students, there is a great deal

⁷ *Report of the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction*, Ministry of Education, 1960.

of misunderstanding and antipathy towards the followers of other religions. Vigorous measures would be needed to change this situation. Secondly we have to evolve, in the rising generation, moral and spiritual values which nourish the soul and build up character. The entire past tradition in this respect has been to relate these values to religion. Even when the schools stopped teaching religion, the home continued to perform this function. But now, the home is failing us, especially in the case of the large number of secondary school and college students who form the first generation to be educated. We are thus face to face with a situation where moral and spiritual values are to be evolved in schools which profess a secular system of education and without depending upon the home to a very large extent. Fortunately, some good literature on this subject is available from researches and experiments carried out in U.S.A. and we may avail ourselves fully of it.

EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The third important national goal, identified and incorporated in the first three Plans, is the elimination of poverty by raising the national income very rapidly through the adoption of science and technology and through the modernisation of agriculture and large-scale industrialisation. It is also realised that a rapid economic development of the country will not be possible unless an intensive programme of family planning is taken up simultaneously—the target being to reduce the birth rate to half in a period of 10 to 15 years. There can, of course, be no two opinions on the desirability of these goals; and hence the main question to be posed is this: what role does education play in economic development and how should education in India be reconstructed so as to quicken the pace of economic growth?

One aspect of the problem has been well recognised. The development of industry needs trained manpower and hence, technical education has been accorded very high priority and rapidly developed in the first three Plans. In fact, technical education is the one sector of educational development where the achievements of the post-Independence period are seen at their best and this is the one educational area which is least open to criticism. But there are several other important aspects

of the problem of economic growth which have not been equally highlighted and it is these that need attention.

The main weakness of the Indian intellectual tradition has been that its elite consisted mainly of learned people—philosophers, poets, priests, etc.—who devoted themselves exclusively to higher learning, never worked with their hands, and lived on the material goods which the ignorant masses produced and offered to them in a spirit of devotion and reverence. Hence grew up a social ethos which denigrated work and in which an educated man generally refused to work with his hands. Even our modern educational system has been mainly academic and book-centred and our educated men have always desired for and preferred white-collar jobs. This attitude, though unhealthy, did not create social and economic malaise so long as the number of educated persons was small and so long as they could be provided with white-collar jobs, however humble. But now the output of the educational system has increased by leaps and bounds and it is no longer possible to give white-collar jobs to all educated persons. This has created two different sets of problems. On the one hand, there is a good deal of educated unemployment and possibly an even greater extent of frustration and waste because a large number of educated persons have to accept humbler and lowly-paid jobs which are beneath their 'status' and for which they have obviously received a costly education. On the other hand, there are a number of well-paid jobs in the industries for which no trained people are available or which the educated people will not accept as they involve manual labour. Moreover, the social denigration of manual work creates attitudes which prevents intelligent boys from taking to manual vocations and even when they do, their efficiency leaves much to be desired. It is obvious that this ethos and these attitudes will have to be radically altered if economic growth has to be accelerated. The only attempt which has so far been made in this direction is the scheme of basic education; but it has not succeeded. Besides, a social ethos can be changed, not by acting at the elementary, but by developing suitable programmes at the secondary and university stages. What we need, therefore, is the compulsory teaching of crafts at the middle school and secondary stages (where white-collar attitudes are first developed) and also some changes at the uni-

versity stage (such as the introduction of camping). It will also imply a considerable provision of work-and-learn courses at all stages. The compulsory introduction of camping and compulsory provision for one year of national service (at the end of the school course) and other suggestions made in this context will also have to be considered.⁸

There is another important aspect of the problem. It is in the agricultural sector that the rate of growth is very slow and unless agricultural production is rapidly increased, the situation is not going to improve. This, in fact, is the key to the solution of the problem. The question naturally arises: what is the role of education in increasing agricultural production? We may advantageously address ourselves to this question; and the answers found in terms of the reconstruction of the existing educational system will have to be incorporated in our educational plans on a priority basis. The same exercise may also be done with industrial production and the problem may be discussed with the leaders of industry to ascertain the educational needs implied in a programme of rapid industrial growth.

There is yet another problem of economic growth with which education is concerned: the development of attitudes which assist economic growth. For instance, economic growth will not be possible unless the people develop such attitudes and habits as hard-work, cost-mindedness, cooperation, or skill in working with hands. They must also save to the utmost for purposes of capital formation which, at least in the initial stages, will come more through restraint on consumption than from increased production. This will mean a practice of austerity (not from the point of philosophy but from sheer economic necessity) for several years to come. In fact any programme of rapid economic growth for an underdeveloped country implies the need, for at least one generation or till the 'take-off' stage is reached, of developing the habits of 'working more and living on less'. The Russian experiment bears this out fully. We, on the other hand, are doing everything possible to create an attitude of increasing consumption and working less—a situation that makes economic progress difficult. Education, therefore, has an important role to play in building up the right attitudes and habits which will foster quick economic growth.

⁸ Report of the National Service Committee, Ministry of Education, 1960.

Germane to this problem of economic growth are the two allied problems of population control and manpower utilisation. Adult education has a very important role to play in population control because family planning is essentially a programme of education and motivation. In manpower utilisation, we come across two important problems—educated unemployment and shortages of trained manpower in certain key-sectors, both of which are deeply concerned with education. There is also the problem of underemployment or unemployment in the agricultural and rural sector for which a solution in part at least lies in education suited to the development of an agro-industrial technology. All these are very important issues which have not received adequate attention so far and what we urgently need is a concrete programme of estimating manpower needs of our economy and of relating them to educational reconstruction.

It is necessary but obviously not enough to bridge the gap between education and employment merely at the conceptual level. It is also necessary to devise a practical method to implement a programme of education-employment coordination. From this point of view, it may be good to begin pilot projects in a few selected backward districts—say, about 25 or 30 in the whole of India—where an intensive attempt would be made to solve the problems of population control, economic growth and educational reconstruction in a coordinated manner, for it is only in this way that they can ever be solved. For this purpose, there should be constituted, in each district, a *District Development Authority* which should be statutory if possible. Its main responsibility should be to prepare and implement an integrated and comprehensive plan of district development—a plan which will consist of three parts—family planning, economic development and educational reconstruction. At present, the labour force cohort (i.e. the boys and girls who attain the age of 16 and enter the labour force in a given year) suffers from three main defects or difficulties. The first is that its size is too large—about 2 per cent of the total population—owing to the prevalence of a large birth rate. Secondly, its educational attainments are also very meagre—about 60 per cent of the cohort would be illiterate; about 35 per cent would have completed primary schooling and attained permanent literacy; about 25 per cent would have

received more than five years of schooling and probably completed the middle course; about 10 per cent would have completed the secondary school; and only about 1 or 2 per cent might be graduates. These are far too inadequate for the creation of a modern social order. Thirdly, the rate of economic development, especially in rural areas, is so slow that there are not enough jobs for even half of this cohort. What is worse, the little education that has been given to its personnel is so predominantly academic that there are no suitably trained persons to man the key posts in several sectors of industrialisation that are being developed at present. It should be the principal responsibility of this Local Development Authority at the district level to prepare an integrated plan of district development whose objectives will be :

- (1) to reduce the birth rate to about half in a planned programme of 10-15 years;
- (2) to bring about a very rapid economic development of the local areas in such a manner that there would be a job for every young man or woman who enters the labour force and who decides to remain in the district (it may be assumed, by and large, that about 90 per cent of the children born in the district would remain within the district); and
- (3) to provide such education to the young boys and girls within the district as will qualify them to participate effectively in this programme of the economic development of the district or to see that there is a boy or girl suitably trained for every job that is needed for economic development.

In other words, the plan will reduce the birth rate, develop economy and reconstruct education in such a manner that, as from a given date to be reached in 10-15 years time, there would be a job for every person in the labour force cohort of the district and there would also be a suitably trained person available for every job needed for the economic development of the areas. Some such broader vision of the problem is inescapable if the educational problems facing the country are to be solved satisfactorily.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Rapid economic development is possible only through the adoption of science and technology which is also equally indispens-

able to two other important goals we have in view: the modernisation of the traditional social order and bringing about a massive cultural renaissance in the life of the people as a whole. Science and technology is obviously the key to the future development of Indian society and it will have to be the central focus, as it were, of all educational reconstruction in the next 15 to 20 years.

The problem has several aspects. The first is to strengthen the teaching of science adequately at all stages of education.

The teaching of science has to be organised, not merely to impart scientific information or to teach a few scientific skills, but to build up scientific attitudes which are rational, empirical and secular. This will need the reorganisation of curricula in science at all the stages in keeping with modern trends; the provision of necessary laboratories and equipment; and the preparation of science teachers. The second aspect of the problem is the organisation of a large-scale and intensive programme of identifying scientific talent at the school stage and helping it to grow through a programme of scholarships and placement in selected institutions; and the third is a far larger expansion of facilities for scientific research than we have at present. Even in adult education, we will have to include the teaching of science to a very great extent because it is only through the building up of scientific attitudes that agriculturists or industrial workers will be able to improve their efficiency and increase production or the people as a whole will be able to implement a programme of family planning.

The adoption of science and technology will also enable us to modernise our traditional society. This expression, 'modernisation of traditional society', is very often used but its educational implications have neither been clearly conceptualised nor incorporated in the plans of educational reconstruction drawn up for traditional societies. The expression is often used to denote the modernisation of externals such as the introduction of television, automobiles, jet planes, or radio sets. More frequently still, it is equated with Westernisation. But neither of these meanings can be wholly true; and since the major problem before the country during the next generation is to modernise the traditional social order, it would

be desirable to be more clear about the implications of the concept.⁹

The main distinction between a modern and traditional society is the relentless pursuit of knowledge, particularly in science and technology. Knowledge as a whole, and particularly scientific knowledge, is now increasing at a tremendous speed and is doubling itself in about 10 years. This rate will grow even faster as days pass by. A society, which desires to modernise itself and keep being modern, will, therefore, have to organise its social and educational institutions in such a way that it is possible for it to participate, on a basis of equality, in the relentless pursuit of knowledge which has become the common endeavour of mankind at present. Educationally, this implies the building up of a strong educational system which will cast its net very wide to discover talent (through a programme of universal education), and then provide the best opportunities possible for these talented students to develop their potential to the full. It also implies an emphasis on university education and particularly on the development of post-graduate teaching and research. Secondly, a modern society offers a larger way of life to individuals than what a traditional society can ever hope to do; and consequently, an individual in a modern society has many choices before him at several crucial stages in his life. For instance, the woman in the traditional society has very limited scope beyond the home and the hearth; but in a modern society, she has far larger opportunities which are almost co-extensive with those open to men. The control of population is not human but a divine problem in a traditional society; in a modern society, it becomes one of the factors which man can control. Other examples could be easily added. This variety or richness of choices which a modern society affords to every individual has its own obvious advantages; but it must be remembered that it also creates other problems of great significance. For instance, the future of the society will depend upon the type of choices which each individual will make and this, in its turn, would depend upon his motivation and sense of values. For instance, the choice may be made with reference to one's imme-

⁹ In this connection, a series of three lectures delivered by Dr. W. C. Smith in Sapru House in March, 1964 under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs will be of great interest.

diately gain or it may be made in a spirit of service and with a view to common good. This raises a whole series of moral and spiritual issues and shows that, in the last analysis, social good can be secured only in a combination of 'knowledge' (which science and technology can bring) with the 'sense of values' or motivation with religion or ethics or spiritualism contributes to life. The emphasis on mere knowledge and technical skills, which unfortunately is accompanied by a simultaneous (though not casually related) decay in spiritual and moral values of life, is creating several problems in Western society which almost threaten to put an end to human existence itself and there is already a noticeable desire among Western thinkers to balance the knowledge which science and technology bring with the larger values implied in religion, such as the meaning of life, the relationship of man to other human beings, to society and ultimately, to God. Gandhiji's main contribution to this sector was to emphasise the importance of spiritual values as a counterbalancing factor to scientific development. In fact, he went to one extreme and asserted that he would rather refuse to have science if its potentially dangerous trends could not be adequately controlled. We need not accept this view. But it may be worthwhile for us (1) to explore the possibility of combining scientific development with spiritual values right from the start and (2) to accept the idea of decentralization of industries (in which people can live and work in smaller groups and in face-to-face relations) in preference to large-scale mass-production which creates huge, insensate and sprawling cities. The obvious implication is that the educational system we are likely to reconstruct in the next 15-20 years should emphasise, not only the development of science and technology, but also the building up of character and the development of moral and spiritual values.

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

Closely related to the adoption of science and technology is the problem of education and cultural development. Prior to the advent of the British rule, this problem just did not exist because education was then concerned exclusively with the preservation of ancient traditional learning and values of life. With the advent of British rule and the ushering in of the modern

educational system, an immediate conflict arose: was education to preserve the ancient way of life and cultural values almost unchanged as the older generation seemed to demand, or should it entirely abandon all traditional values and be fully Westernised? Macaulay said that the educational system he advocated would create young persons who would be 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect' suggesting thereby that the Western culture should supersede the Eastern through the process of education. This view appeared acceptable in the early days; but it did not work out in practice. It is true that some young persons who came out of the educational system were de-nationalised and de-culturised and ceased to be 'Indian'. But they did not become even tolerably like the English, except in some external matters like dress, food or drink. This theory was, therefore, soon given up. Similarly, the concept at the other extreme, namely, that the traditional way of life and cultural values should continue unchanged in spite of the contact with the West which came through modern education, was too unrealistic to be practicable and had also to be given up. The ultimate policy adopted, therefore, was to secure a synthesis of the ancient Indian and modern Western cultures. From this point of view, the study of the classical languages of India was encouraged, both in secondary schools and colleges and the study of Indian art and architecture, history, and philosophy began to find an honourable place along with that of Western literature and philosophy. Of course, the exact manner in which this synthesis was worked out differed from person to person or from time to time. But on the whole, the balance generally tilted on the side of the Western values of life.

The nationalist upsurge that arose about 1900 was a reaction against this trend and it emphasised the greatness and value of ancient Indian culture and traditions. The general view was that the whole world is tending to be one and that, as time passes, the difference between the Eastern and Western countries will continually tend to diminish; that India has every right to be proud of her glorious past; that in the cultural exchange between India and the West, India has also something worthwhile to give in the realm of spirituality while it receives the gift of modern science and technology from the West; and that Indians

should strive their utmost to keep up their own traditional culture while simultaneously accepting all that is good in the West. This was an attempt, as Gandhiji put it, to refuse to be blown off one's feet even when all the windows of one's house are thrown open to fresh winds from every corner of the world. The attitude supported a feeling of proper pride in oneself, in one's country, and in one's heritage and strengthened the love of the motherland, the nationalist sentiment, and the struggle for freedom. These were the immediate aims of this movement and they were admirably met, not so much by what happened within the educational system, as by the work of nationalist leaders in the society at large. Among these may be mentioned Swami Vivekananda, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Annie Besant, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi.

One cannot help feeling that this keen revival of ancient values and respect for the past was stimulated, less by any intrinsic faith in these concepts but more by political considerations, because with the attainment of independence, when the political support to these ideas has disappeared, the interest in the classical languages has begun to wane (the three-language formula is also partly responsible for this), and in a nation which claims to save the world through its philosophical contribution, philosophy is the least popular among the university subjects. Once again we have a situation where the intelligentsia is losing its hold on its own past moorings and is either being rapidly westernised or is being driven into a sheer cultural or spiritual vacuum. As a reaction to this loss of cultural values which is being far too general, we are also developing a group of persons who may be described as the temple-town leadership and which is fanatically revivalist and chauvinist. With these two extreme trends growing together, the situation is, to say the least, disquieting.

The pity of the matter is that all these vicissitudes in the attitudes to Indian culture have affected only the elite, the small intellectual class which has received secondary and university education, mostly of the liberal and academic type, while the vast masses of the people have remained ignorant and illiterate even to this day and still lead a culturally mediaeval, or even primitive life. It is, therefore, obvious that the cultural renaiss-

ance in India has not affected the masses at all. All that it has done is to change the character of the small minority of the elite or intellectuals. Till the end of the eighteenth century, this elite consisted of a few top castes and was entirely mediaeval in character. Under the impact of modern education, it came in contact with the West and passed through several metamorphoses. At first, it was strongly westernised; then it developed a synthesis between Indian and Western cultures, although the impact of the West was more dominant. Then came the third phase of a nationalist upsurge when its moorings in the past went deep without excluding Western influences, especially those of democratic liberalism. This was its most creative period in all walks of life, a period which is symbolised by the rise of great writers in every Indian language who built up valuable literature and by such national figures as Vivekananda, Dayanand, Tilak, Tagore or Gandhi. It was also in this period that the battle for freedom was fought and won and the elite was closest to the masses. But that creative vein now seems to be waning and we seem to have become ambivalent: the larger groups have begun to lose their grip on the national heritage while a small minority is becoming militantly revivalist. Inevitably, this is also increasing the distance between the elite and the masses.

From the national point of view, we need to change the situation radically in three ways, if there is to be a cultural renaissance among the people as a whole. In the first place, the intelligentsia itself has to be changed in quality, in composition, in academic heights and in creativity. The elite is very small at present, less than one per cent of the population. This will have to be increased to about 10 per cent of the population to make any significant dent on the large and complex problems we have to face. Its composition has already changed to some extent—it is no longer restricted to a few upper castes and includes persons from all castes and strata, although the lower castes—and particularly the Harijans and Adivasis—are rather under-represented. The situation would have to be improved by identifying talent in all areas and helping it to receive higher education through a large programme of scholarships. The other defect in its composition is that it still consists predominantly of white-collared people and the students of humanities. The proportion of

scientists and workers in its composition will have to be substantially increased. In respect of academic heights, it does not compare favourably with intellectuals from the advanced countries. At this level, standards of attainment and competence cut across national boundaries and become truly international. The Indian elite, or at least the best among them, should be comparable to those in any other country. But this does not happen at present. The programme can, however, be put across through schemes for the development of selected institutions (like the Centres of Advanced Study) combined with a liberal programme of scholarships. We have probably the most difficult task ahead in respect of creativity. As stated above, the most creative era of the Indian intellectual seems to have receded at present; and to bring it again, we shall have to overcome all those difficulties which hinder creativity at present: the absence of a centre of inspiration—the struggle for freedom provided this in the past and one wonders why the even more challenging struggle against ignorance, ill health, and poverty cannot act as a substitute for it; the loss of pride in one's own cultural heritage and the consequent dependence on external sources of cultural and intellectual nourishment (Shils has rightly observed that the Indian intellectual lives in the 'provinces' of the metropolis of British intelligentsia);¹⁰ the strifling effect of an alien medium of instruction; the increasing distance from the masses of people which also implies an attitude of escapism from the hard realities of life into an ivory tower of intellectual sophistication; and the sense of frustration that seems to be gathering because of a loss of political power and responsibility (democracy has succeeded in putting a large number of non-elite into positions of power and at the moment, they do not seem to have even accepted the need for intellectual guidance). This is indeed a difficult task; but we have to attempt a breakthrough somehow.

The second change needed refers to the masses whose cultural level has been kept low for centuries together. Our old tradition has been to rely on a few great men (which this country seems somehow to produce from time to time) and, in the glory radiated by these giants, to forget conveniently the fact that our average

¹⁰ Edward Shils : *The Intellectual between Tradition and Modernity : the Indian situation.*

man is but a pygmy. What we need in the modern world, and particularly in a democracy, is an increase in the height of the average man. 'Make no more giants, God! Raise up the whole race at once', said Browning as an appropriate prayer for the modern world. We must, therefore, try to raise the cultural level of the masses through programmes of compulsory elementary education and adult education.

The third change refers to the relationship of the elite and the masses—will it be a service-group which will strive its utmost for the uplift of the masses or will it be an exploiting group which will live for itself and try to perpetuate its own privileged position? Our past traditions are not very happy. Our traditional elite was mostly an exploiting group which lived on the masses. The new elite created by the modern system of education also played the same role in the early stages because, tempted by the cushy jobs under Government, it allied itself with British power to continue the slavery of the country and the exploitation of the masses. Then it revolted against British authority and, by fighting in the name of the masses, it finally won freedom for the country. It was at this period only that it became essentially a service group and its relationship to the masses was closest. But since the attainment of independence, it is again tending to become an exploiting group and is moving farther away from the people. In this lies a great danger, not only to the masses, but to the country as a whole and ultimately to the elite itself. Here lies a great challenge to education and one of the very important problems which educationists would have to consider is the proper relationship between the elite and the masses.¹¹

There is one more aspect of the cultural renaissance that is needed in India. As was pointed out earlier, the cultural renaissance in India is restricted mainly to the elite or to the upper middle classes. It has still another and a worse limitation: it has drawn its inspiration, not so much from western science and technology, as from Western literature and democratic liberalism which, as Gokhale said, have freed the Indian mind from the 'thralldom of old-world ideas'. But the true renaissance of modern society can only come from science and the scientific

¹¹ The Indian elite should and can have, as a group, the *Intellect* of Shankara, the *compassion* of Buddha, the *democratic brotherhood* of Mohammed, and the *spirit of service* which Christ so eloquently preached.

attitudes and this is still a task for the future in India.

When all this is said (and even done), there still remains the basic fact that the renaissance we need cannot come except upon the foundation of our traditional heritage which, in the context of our acceptance of the scientific method, will be continually modified to meet new situations and challenges. A people cannot throw away their past just as one gets rid of an infected appendix: to do so would cause a trauma that would stifle all creativity. At the same time, we cannot live a fossilised existence in a dynamic and rapidly changing world. What we need is an educational system which will not only preserve our cultural heritage but also continually modify it by a judicious process of omissions, additions and modifications to suit new situations and challenges. This is not difficult for Hindus because, as Dr. Radhakrishnan has pointed out, Hinduism is not a *position*, but a *movement*. Muslims have stronger resistances on this point. But they too cannot but cultivate the humility to seek truth from outside. The conceptualisation of this new form of cultural renaissance and to carry these new concepts to the masses is the responsibility of the educational system.

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

National integration is the fourth important national goal. The need for this is inherent in the Indian situation itself. The Indian continent shows a picture of great diversity with its different religions, languages, and races; within or in spite of this diversity, however, there is (or can be created) an underlying unity which makes it a nation.

National integration may be said to have been achieved when every citizen has an understanding of this essential underlying unity in diversity, gets emotionally involved with it, and comes to regard it as so great a value that, if need be, he is prepared to sacrifice his all for its preservation. To secure this is obviously a task for education, although it has to be fostered in several other fields also economic, political and administrative.

There are several facets of national integration. The first is the need to inculcate the love of the motherland in the heart of every child and adult. This is not an easy affair. In advanced countries which are *de facto* welfare States, the nation does

so much for each individual by giving him status in the international sphere, by providing him with education and employment and by assuring him of a fairly satisfactory and high standard of living that he does develop a loyalty to his country just as one develops an attachment to one's mother through her devotion and care. In fact, the loyalties to one's country transcend even those towards a mother because, as a poet put it, the mother looks after us mainly in our childhood, while Mother Nation tends us throughout our life. But in a developing country like ours, the nation can do little for the average person: in fact it has little to give and quite a good deal to demand in return. The appeal for patriotism, therefore, has to be made under more difficult circumstances; it is not the natural gratitude expected in return for favours conferred, but an appeal to idealism or to the generous instinct of giving one's all for something which one regards as 'valuable'. Men do respond to such appeals. Garibaldi promised his followers days of toil, sleepless nights, a life of poverty and difficulties, and an unceremonious death. In spite of this, his appeal in the name of the liberty of the Italian people did receive a great and a noble response. Gandhiji offered nothing better but did move the masses. Our appeal in the name of Mother India, for at least another 15-30 years till she actually becomes a Welfare State, will, therefore, have to be similar and it will succeed only if the people feel that all these sacrifices they are called upon to make are worthwhile and are being made for something which is 'valuable'. For this sense of 'value', one can only build up on the past and the future. In other words, we must inculcate an understanding of and a proper pride in our great cultural heritage and also create a strong attachment to the equally great (or even greater) future we have in view. The motherland will have to stand for some basic 'values' in life such as democracy, equality, fraternity, or social justice in order to be herself 'valuable' in the present state of transition. There is probably not enough appreciation of these aspects of the problem and the existing educational programmes for instilling the love of the motherland among the students leave much to be desired.

Economic equality and social cohesion are two other important aspects of national integration. Today, the divisive forces are too numerous and powerful: disparities in wealth and standards

of living, regional imbalances of development, caste, unequal status of women, inequalities in educational provision and religion. The adoption of socialism and rapid economic growth in which education has a significant part) can help to overcome the economic factors. But education has a major role to play in overcoming the divisive social forces. Men have to be educated to regard women as equals and women, to a better appreciation of their own selves. The Hindus know fairly well how to live with 'other religions'; but they do not know how to live with themselves. They will, therefore, have to be educated to adopt a real democracy in their own midst by the abolition of caste. The Muslims can live well with themselves but they do not know how to live with others, because they have a built-in inheritance of democracy which unfortunately has often been interpreted as a closed system¹² for the believers alone. They will, therefore, have to be educated for a life of co-existence with non-Muslims also. In addition, educational programmes, and particularly the programme of identifying talent and scholarships, will have to be deliberately and largely used to create social mobility which will cut across all barriers of caste, sex, race, or religion. These programmes will have to be greatly emphasised because national integration will be directly proportional to the degree of economic equality we introduce or the extent of social cohesion we promote.

The creation of a unified elite is another major facet of national integration. In ancient and mediaeval India, the unity of the entire sub-continent was preserved, such as it was, by just one factor: the existence of an elite of Brahmins who had a common culture throughout India and who spoke a common language—Sanskrit. In the mediaeval period, two different elites grew up—Hindu and Muslim—but the Hindus and Muslims came together only to the extent to which these two elites understood each other in search of common points of philosophy. In the

¹² In this respect, says Dr. Smith, the Indian Muslim Community has significant contribution to make to the entire Islamic world. He writes: 'The fundamental fallacy of Muslims has been to interpret Islam as a closed system: And that system has been closed not only from outside truth, but also from outside people. The fundamental hopefulness about Indian Muslims, and therefore Indian Islam, is that this community may break through this. It may be forced to have the courage and humility to seek new insights. It may find the humanity to strive for brotherhood with those of other forms of faith'—*Islam in Modern History*, p. 291.

British period, a new all-India elite was created which spoke a common language—English—and shared a common faith in several fields and it was the existence of this elite which created the underlying bond of unity. In the future also, the hard core of Indian unity will be the Indian elite. The educational system must, therefore, so operate that it will create a new elite with faith in India's past greatness and future glory, which will share all the common values indicated by our national goals, which will speak two common languages—English for building up an international camaraderie and Hindi for communion with the Indian people, and whose ranks will be recruited purely on the basis of merit and without any reference to caste, race, language, sex, religion, or place of birth. The success in national integration will be directly proportional to the quality and quantity of this elite.

There are two special aspects of the creation of this elite which demand attention. The first is the need to maintain its mobility—it must be able to move from one part of the country to another and to work in any part of India in spite of linguistic barriers. Unfortunately, parochial and other considerations are already restricting this mobility to a great extent. The only way out seems to be the creation of all-India services in teaching at the post-graduate stage, in research, and in administration. The second is the need to have, in each linguistic group, a fairly large number of persons who will speak and write all the other languages of India and will be familiar with the literature in those languages. For instance, in Maharashtra, there must be a few thousand people who, taken together, know each of the other modern Indian languages and their literatures. This can be done by providing facilities, in each linguistic area for the study of all other modern Indian languages at the University level, attracting an adequate number of good students to them through a liberal programme of scholarships and providing employment to them in secondary schools and intermediate colleges (where the three-language formula should be implemented in a proper spirit), or in colleges where these languages would be taught. This programme needs urgent attention.

This emphasis on the elite should not be mis-interpreted to imply that the masses have no role to play in national integration. Their role is equally important and complementary to that of

the elite. Here the main emphasis should be on proper education, in elementary and secondary schools and in adult education programmes, which will make the people of every part familiar with the people in other parts so as to impress upon them the national unity of India. This 'familiarity' should be as deep and as comprehensive as possible, and should cover general life and culture; life and contributions of great persons, both past and present; and even some acquaintance with the language and literature. The great weakness of the concept of national integration has been that while it has been over-philosophised at the conceptual level, no work has been done at the level of educational technology, and hardly any attention has so far been given to the problem of preparing curricula and programmes of activities which will promote national integration in the elementary and secondary schools and in adult education programmes. This deficiency will have to be remedied very early.

One last point. National institutions established by the Centre which will maintain fairly comparable standards and which will be attended by students from all parts of the country can be a very effective means of fostering national integration. The I.I.Ts., the Centres of Advanced Study, the regional engineering colleges, the national laboratories, etc., are doing excellent service to the cause of national integration. How to multiply such institutions and increase their scope would be one of the major problems for educational reconstruction.

SOCIALISM

What are precisely the educational implications of the socialistic pattern of society which we have decided to create? In the first instance, there is no clear picture of what this pattern exactly is; and even assuming that this has been clearly conceptualised, very little work has been done to determine its educational implications. Some tentative suggestions can, however, be put forward.

Socialism presumes the state ownership of the means of production in the interests of the common man. Education is so vital to the development of the common man that, under socialism, it may not be desirable to allow any but a minor role to private enterprise. In our system today, private enterprise dominates the field almost exclusively in secondary and higher education

and one of the most significant problems to be faced at present is to determine the precise future role of the voluntary enterprise in education. The acceptance of socialism has created similar controversies in the industrial sector; and the battle will now have to be fought in the educational field as well.

Another aspect of socialism is that it becomes the basic responsibility of the State to discover and develop 'talent' which is also one of the most important tools of production or even the means of national survival. Under a democracy, the slogan is that 'poverty shall be no bar to education'. Socialism goes a step ahead and will not rest content until all available talent is discovered and developed to its fullest, irrespective of all considerations of caste, class, race, religion, sex, or place of birth. This pursuit of excellence is the most distinctive feature of socialist education and it is this which makes Russian education so outstanding in the contemporary world.

There is another important feature of socialist education, viz. the closest merger between general or liberal and professional education. Under the older traditions, which even democracy has not been able to put down completely, liberal education was distinguished from vocational education. The former was meant for the 'gentlemen' and the latter for the 'worker'. This distinction is no longer very valid and we have now to provide a mixture of general and vocational education to all because 'we must all have a vocation and we must also be all cultured.' This new approach has not yet been adopted in Indian education.

As in democracy, socialism also highlights the need for mass education. The minimum it assumes is free and compulsory elementary education. But in view of its emphasis on industry and workers, it postulates a large-scale development of secondary education as well and probably the widest possible development of work-and-learn plans.

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Whether from the point of view of democracy, socialism, national integration, economic development, or cultural renaissance, two major educational policies stand out fully: (1) provision of equality of educational opportunity; and (2) the cultivation of excellence, which not only includes the development of talent,

but also some other significant programmes to be discussed later. In view of their intrinsic importance, these two concepts will be discussed, separately and in some detail, in this section and the next.

The problem of the provision of equality of educational opportunity has different connotations at different stages of education. At the elementary stage, where the goal is to provide free and compulsory education for all, there is no question of any selection. There is also no difficult question of differentiation in curricula because all children have to be put through an essentially common programme of education. A good deal of progress has been achieved in the first three Plans for the realisation of this goal. At the end of the third Plan (1965-66), the enrolment in classes I-V would be about 76 per cent of the age-group 6-10 and that in classes VI-VIII would be about 33 per cent of the population in the age-group 11-13. In the next three Plans, therefore, expansion will have to be continued to reach the target laid down in Article 45 of the Constitution by about the end of the sixth Plan. But this programme will have to be modified with a view to making a conscious effort to secure equality of educational opportunity, because the large expansion secured in the first three plans has not necessarily led to greater equality of educational opportunity. For instance, even at the end of the third Plan, there will be appreciable inequalities of educational opportunity at several levels and in several sectors. From the national point of view, there will be wide gaps between advanced States like Kerala or Madras and backward States like Rajasthan or Uttar Pradesh. At the State level, we find great differences of achievement between certain advanced and backward districts. Even within the same district, there are often large differences between one Tehsil of the district and another and even within the same Tehsil, not all villages are equally advanced. There are still large differences between urban and rural areas. From the social points of view, there is great inequality of educational development between boys and girls and also between the advanced classes on the one hand and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes on the other. In the next three plans, expansion of elementary education would have to be oriented deliberately to the removal of such inequalities. Suitable programmes to this end will have to be devised and we should also evolve statis-

tical and other techniques to measure our progress in this direction from time to time.

At the secondary stage, we are yet very far away from the goal of providing universal secondary education. Even at the end of the third Plan, the total enrolment in the secondary classes would be only about 18 per cent of the total population in the corresponding age-group, although the policies of the State Governments would show that we are heading directly, not for free and compulsory education up to 14, but to *free* education up to 16 or 17. There is a very little study made of the composition of the secondary school students. Some sample studies in different parts of the country are, therefore, essential to ascertain what the existing position in this respect is and to determine which classes or sectors of society avail themselves of secondary education at present. But from the very few studies available, it appears that the equality of educational opportunity provided at the secondary stage is far less than that at the elementary stage. There are wide differences between the States and, even within the same State between different districts. Secondary education is still very largely urban and boys still form the vast majority of secondary students. In a study of the Baroda district, it was found that nearly three-fourths of the students belong to the three upper castes. In a similar study of the Kaira district, it was found that about 80 per cent of the secondary school students belong to the three or four top castes while a backward caste, which accounted for about 60 per cent of the population of the district, had only 4 per cent of the enrolment at the secondary stage. It is obvious, therefore, that, at the present stage, the largest beneficiaries of our system of secondary education are boys, the people of the urban areas, and the middle and the upper classes. The future development of secondary education would, therefore, have to be deliberately planned in order to permit the weaker sections of the community to avail themselves of this facility to a much greater extent than at present.

What is said above of the secondary stage is also applicable to the university stage, if anything, to an even greater extent. The total enrolment at the university stage is still very small, about 2.4 per cent of the population in the corresponding age-group. Even here, no studies about the social composition of the university students are available. But a study conducted in the

University of Baroda showed that 88 per cent of the university students came from three upper castes only. In a study of the G.M. College, Sambalpur, it was found that 17.8 per cent of the students came from the business community, 41.5 per cent from the services and only 40.7 per cent from the agriculturists and others, although the agricultural and rural population of the district is upwards of 90 per cent. There is reason to assume that the facilities for higher education are more utilised by the urban people, the middle and the upper classes, and the services or professions, than by the other sectors of society. A programme of providing greater equality of educational opportunity at this stage, on lines similar to that adopted at the secondary, will have to be undertaken in the next three plans.

Another very important problem that arises in this context is this: should we make admissions to secondary schools and the institutions of higher education on a selective basis or should we follow the present open-door policy? The Sargent Plan has generally supported a policy of selective admissions and has suggested some very neat ratios. Admissions to the secondary schools, for instance, are to be in proportion of one to five among those who had completed the primary school; and the admissions to institutions of higher education were to be one for every fifteen who had completed the secondary school. These beautiful and neat ratios have, however, not worked out in practice. In view of the present trends in public opinion, there also does not appear to be any chance, especially at the secondary stage, of being able to make selective admissions. There is some chance of doing so at the university stage, but that also is dependent on a number of factors. One of the major issues to which the educationists will have to address themselves is to determine the extent of facilities to be provided at the secondary and university stages of education.

The increasing enrolments at the secondary and university stages are bringing into focus two important educational problems. At the elementary stage, the provision of equality of educational opportunity is a comparatively simple affair because it has only a quantitative connotation in the sense that every child has to be brought into school and no qualitative connotation is involved in the sense of providing different types of education to different children (except for the small group of the handi-

capped). At the secondary and university stages, however, the problem becomes entirely different. Here, equality of educational opportunity has, not only a quantitative connotation in the sense of granting admission to every child that knocks at the door, but also a qualitative connotation in the sense that different types of education will have to be provided to different children in view of their different ages, abilities, aptitudes, and the different periods for which they may be expected to remain under instruction, including practical instruction and training appropriate to their respective needs. Equality of educational opportunity at the secondary stage, therefore, means diversification of courses. What we do at present is to provide the same academic type of education to every child who comes into the secondary school; and obviously this is as poor a form of equalising opportunities as to provide an exactly similar piece of clothing to every person, irrespective of his bodily size.

At the collegiate stage, a factor of even greater importance is the capacity of the student to benefit from higher education and the maintenance of standards. The provision of equality of opportunity at this stage, therefore, does not simply mean the admission of everyone who knocks at the door, but to satisfy oneself that every child who deserves to receive higher education is really enabled to enter institutions of higher education (this also applies to the secondary stage) and to provide as high a quality of education to him as possible. Our present policies leave much to be desired from this point of view. As Shri R.D. Choksi puts it, 'the concept of equality of educational opportunity means different things at different stages. At the elementary stage, it means quantity; at the secondary stage, it means diversity; and at the university stage, it means quality'. All these aspects of the problem of providing equality of educational opportunity, especially at the secondary and university stages, need special attention.

PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE

The objective of a policy of providing equality of educational opportunity is to democratise education. In order to obtain the best results, however, it is necessary to supplement it with another, namely, the pursuit of excellence.

This policy has several important aspects. The first is to identify talent and to provide it with suitable opportunities to realise its potential for development in full. Naturally, this problem of identification of talent does not arise in the first stage of education, say, primary education of 4 or 5 years covering the age-group 6-9 or 6-10. But as soon as possible thereafter, one has to be on the look out for the more promising students and to select them for the grant of special assistance which would be of two types: (a) placement in a good educational institution where the talented child will be brought in contact with good teachers and will live and study under good conditions; and (b) provision of a scholarship to enable the child to overcome the financial handicaps it suffers from, if any, and which, prevent him from pursuing further education. Quality improves only if good students are exposed to good influences; and a process of this type goes on yielding results in a geometrical progression, as it were, with each succeeding generation of students. Unfortunately, a policy of this type has not yet been developed satisfactorily in India. At the end of the primary stage, there is hardly any programme for the identification of talent and for grant of scholarships for continuing in the middle schools. At the secondary stage, a few scholarships are provided for good students by the State Governments; but their number is far too meagre to meet the needs of the situation. At the university stage, the Government of India has recently initiated a fairly large-sized scheme of scholarships. Good as this beginning is, it suffers from three defects: (a) the size of the programme is still very small; (b) a good deal of the available talent in the country is already eliminated, owing to the failure of the scholarship system at the lower stages, before the Matriculation examination is reached so that the scheme has only a limited possibility for good; and (c) there is no corresponding scheme of developing good institutions and placing the scholarship-holders in them. A major problem of educational reconstruction, therefore, is to develop a programme of identification of and assistance to talent at all stages of education beyond the primary.

The second aspect of this problem is the continuous attempt for deepening the content of education. We live today in a highly competitive world; and the chances of our survival and ability to make our own contribution to the life of Man is in

direct proportion to the competence of men and women we are able to produce, or in other words, to the content of education we provide.

The educational process can be conveniently described as consisting of three inter-related programmes: (1) to give knowledge; (2) to build up essential skills; and (3) to develop the right attitudes, interests and values on the building up of character. The attempt to deepen the content of education is really related to all the three aspects of the education process.

For instance, let us take the first aspect of imparting knowledge. Here, the most important point to remember is that knowledge is increasing at a tremendously rapid rate and is almost doubling itself in a period of about 10 years. To keep pace with this growing quantum of knowledge, the advanced countries of the world are reforming their educational systems in two ways: (a) by prolonging the duration of education; and (b) by putting more content in the same period of schooling. For instance, the duration of compulsory schooling has now been increased, from 6 to 8 years, to about 10 or 12 years. At the same time, the qualifications of teachers, teaching techniques and equipment are being so improved from time to time that children are able to learn more and more within a given span of education. For instance, at the end of the eighth year of schooling, a child today learns things which were normally learnt in the tenth year of study about ten or fifteen years previously; and this trend is continually on the increase.

One is not quite sure that this is happening in all parts of India or that it is happening with sufficient speed or even that the actual reverse is not happening. A historical study of the development of curricula at the different stages of education in all the States of India would throw very interesting light on this problem. By and large, however, I might say that the content of our education today does not provide adequate challenges, either to the students or to the teachers. At the elementary stage, for instance, there has been considerable improvement in the general education and training of teachers. But the content of elementary education has hardly increased in proportion. At the secondary stage, the mother tongue has been adopted as the medium of instruction. This should have facilitated the assimilation of knowledge very considerably. But it is doubtful whether the

upgrading of the curricula of secondary schools has taken adequate note of the implications of this change. Similar observations may also be made at the university stage in respect of any course, except probably such highly specialised courses as those of Medicine, where not to keep abreast of latest developments is death. By and large, our secondary schools now teach a good deal of what should be taught at the elementary stage and the colleges teach a good deal of what should really be taught at the secondary stage.

Dr. D.S. Kothari has suggested that we should plan, not only in quantitative terms of enrolments and duration of courses, but also in the more significant terms of content. As a concrete proposal, he has suggested that, the end of the secondary stage should be equivalent to the old Intermediate and that to be reached at the first degree stage, should be approximately equal to that now reached at the Master's degree. One need not be very dogmatic about any particular suggestion; but the underlying idea of this suggestion is very clear; the content of education must be continually and consciously deepened and that the implications of this in terms of teachers, curricula and teaching techniques should be clearly visualised and duly provided for. This is an important aspect of the problem which has been totally neglected in all our planning so far and we must introduce it in the educational planning of the future.

It is obvious that what is said above about the content of education will also apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the teaching of skills and values. The trend in the advanced countries now is to increase the productivity of the worker and this is possible only on the assumption that the level of efficiency of the workers is much greater today than what it was in the past and will be greater still in the future. Similarly, the modern societies are becoming far more complex and difficult to live in than the traditional societies of the past. The former provide more freedom and a larger way of life no doubt; but they also demand greater share of such qualities as self-restraint, tolerance, good-will, justice, integrity, service without self-involvement (*Anasakti*), reverence for the holy, love, to mention only a few. In other words, the need for building up character is far greater today in the complexity of a modernised society than it ever was in the simple life which the traditional ones generally offered to their members.

The overall conclusion is thus inescapable: the content of education has to be continually deepened if education is to deliver goods and if the society is to be persuaded to invest adequately in it.

Such deepening of the content is possible only if the competence of the teachers goes on continually increasing which is the third, and probably the most significant, aspect of the problem. The modern developments in education with their far-flung ramifications in all sectors of life and their highly complicated techniques which arise from the continual deepening of content are making ever-increasing demands on the teachers in terms of general education, professional training, and character. There is, therefore, an attempt in all countries where the significance of the problem is adequately realised to find the best men available and to place them in charge of the education of the younger generation. In other words, the care and upbringing of the next generation is being entrusted, more and more, to the best representatives of the present generation so that the quality of education improves with time. On the other hand, the developing countries present an entirely different picture. Here, the remuneration and other conditions of service offered to teachers are so unsatisfactory that it is only the persons who have nothing better to do (subject to a few noble exceptions) that are generally attracted to the teaching profession. The care and upbringing of the rising generation is thus entrusted, more and more, to the weakest sections of the present generation. This can only create a vicious circle which will lead, at no distant date, to disaster.

CONCLUSION

We started this discussion by the statement that the national system of education is one which assists the nation to realise its national goals or to meet successfully the challenges that face it from time to time. On this basis, we identified nine great principles or programmes which should guide the reconstruction of an educational system which, at present, is 'national' only in a purely descriptive sense, viz. (1) democracy, (2) secularism, (3) economic development, (4) adoption of science and technology, (5) cultural renaissance, (6) national integration, (7) socialism, (8) equality of educational opportunity, and (9) pursuit of

excellence, and discussed their implications for educational reconstruction with reference to the immediate future. The foregoing discussion, therefore, may be taken as indicating both the short-term and long-term *topical* objectives of educational reconstruction (which are to be treated as a supplement to the *absolute* objectives of education) as well as indicating the broad policies that should underlie formulation of a perspective of educational development spread over the next 10-15 years. It is realised that the discussion, which is more like an attempt at thinking aloud rather than putting forward a well-considered or rounded-off thesis, has very severe limitations. Not every national goal or need has been identified nor have all the educational implications of each identified goal or need been spelt out. Besides, several of the issues raised here are controversial and the position adopted in the discussion on each of these issues may not represent the best choice possible. In spite of the consciousness of all these limitations, I have ventured to prepare this paper merely to serve as a basis of discussion in an area which needs the closest attention of our educationists. The issues raised here are of fundamental importance and if they could be discussed in all significant forums of educational reconstruction, the object of this paper would be more than amply served.

7

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
IN EDUCATION

I

ONE of the major educational controversies today refers to the role of the Government of India in education. *Prima facie* education is a State subject. Entry 11 of the List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution lays down that 'education including universities, subject to the provisions of Entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and Entry 25 of List III' should be a State subject. But there are some other provisions in the Constitution itself which contradict the almost absolute delegation of authority suggested by this entry in the State list; and what is even more significant, the Central Government has shown an unprecedented activity and interest in the field of education ever since the attainment of independence. In 1947, it appointed a University Commission and has since been engaged in evolving common policies in Higher education such as the introduction of the three-year degree course. This was followed by a Secondary Education Commission which tried to introduce a number of uniform trends in a field where the Centre has had hardly any constitutional authority. No Commission was appointed in the field of Primary education. But the scheme of Basic education was declared to have gone beyond the stage of experimentation and was also adopted as the national pattern at the Elementary stage. The interest of the Central Government in Technical education and scientific research has been too obvious to need any illustration. Besides, an innumerable number of Committees and Reports have tried to iron out an all-India thought, policy and programme in almost every sector of education. Of still greater importance is the revival of the Central grants for education which had been discontinued in 1918-19. In the period of post-war reconstruction as well as in the first three Plans, substantial grants were given to the States towards the implementation of a large variety

of educational programmes. With the adoption of the technique of Five Year Plans and the creation of the Planning Commission, the real authority to determine policies, priorities and programmes has now passed on from the States to the Centre in most sectors of development; and as a corollary to this major shift in all developmental activity, educational progress in the States is now more dependent upon the financial allocations and priorities decided at the Centre by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education than upon any decision taken by the States at their own level. In short the trend to centralisation in policy-making in all fields of education has been the most dominating note of this period and it has had hardly any parallel in our educational history except for the brief spell under Lord Curzon.

The reactions at the Centre and in the States to these developments have been extremely divergent. On the one hand, the State Governments have grown more and more critical and resentful of this policy. They claim that Education is essentially their preserve; that they understand their educational needs much better than the Centre itself; and that the attempt of the Centre to cut into their sphere has generally done more harm than good to the cause of education. They also plead that Central grants should be placed at the disposal of the States without any strings attached and they are extremely critical of the manner in which their proposals are scrutinised, modified or amended by the Centre while grants are being sanctioned. On the other hand, the Centre also is not happy about the situation. It has assumed the role of dominant partner without having any constitutional authority to compel the States to conform to its dictates and without even having a machinery to report on the implementation of its programmes through the State Governments. Its main complaint is that its genuine desire to help the States is misunderstood as interference; that the reasonable minimum safeguards which are and should be adopted in all financial sanctions are misinterpreted as 'indirect pressures' or as 'leading strings'; that the States do not appreciate the larger interests of education underlying the policies and programmes proposed by it; that the States do not often implement the sanctioned schemes in the manner in which they ought to be implemented; and that it often finds itself helpless to enforce the directives given by it. During

the last ten years, education has developed practically into a 'joint responsibility' of the Central and State Governments. But unfortunately, neither partner is satisfied with the present position and each one of them has a number of charges to make against the other. It would be no exaggeration to say that it is this conflict and contradiction in the present position which is at the root of most of our administrative difficulties and it is for the solution of these troubles that the role of the Government of India in education has to be properly defined.

In order to pose correctly the complex problems involved in this issue and to arrive at some tentative solutions, it is necessary to consider the problem from three different points of view. The *first* approach would be historical and it would show how the role of the Government of India in education has varied from time to time and why; the *second* would start with the analysis of the relevant constitutional provisions and explain what the Constitution expects the Government of India to do in education; and the *third* would compare and contrast the role of the Government of India in education with that of some other federal governments in the world. It is only in the light of the findings of these three specific studies that it may finally be possible to draw up some kind of a picture of the role of the Government in education as it ought to be.

II

HISTORICAL SURVEY (1773-1950)

From 1773 to 1833

The Government of India may be said to have been born with the Regulating Act of 1773 which designated the Governor-in-Council of Bengal as the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal and gave him a limited authority over the Governors of Bombay and Madras. This authority was substantially increased by the Pitt's India Act of 1784. But prior to 1833, education in India had made but little progress (it had, in fact, been accepted as State responsibility only as late as in 1813) and the Governor-General of Bengal did little to control or direct the educational policies of the other parts of India. At this time, therefore, 'education' may be said to have

been a 'provincial' matter, subject only to the distant coordinating authority of the Court of Directors in England.

From 1833 to 1870

The Charter Act of 1833 introduced a unitary system of Government. Under this arrangement, all revenues were raised in the name of the Central Government and all expenditure needed its approval. The Provincial Governments could not spend even one rupee or create a post, however small, without the approval of the Government of India which also was the only law-making body for the country as a whole. In other words, all executive, financial and legislative authority was exclusively vested in the Central Government and the Provinces merely acted as its agents. As may easily be imagined, education thus became a purely 'Central' subject in 1833 and the entire authority in education and responsibility for it came to be vested in the Government of India. This excessively centralised system, which became more and more inconvenient as education began to expand and the territories of the Company began to grow, remained in force till 1870. As administrative difficulties increased, some small powers were delegated to Provincial Governments from time to time and their proposals, as those of the 'authority on the spot', carried great weight. But the character of the system remained unaltered throughout the period and education continued to be a Central subject in every sense of the term.

From 1870 to 1921

In 1870, however, Lord Mayo introduced a system of administrative decentralisation under which the Provincial Governments were made responsible for all expenditure on certain services—inclusive of education—and were given, for that purpose, a fixed grant-in-aid and certain sources of revenue. Education thus became a 'provincial subject' for purposes of day-to-day administration. But it has to be remembered that the Central Government still retained large powers of control over it. For instance, both the Central and Provincial Legislatures had concurrent powers to legislate on all educational matters. It was because of this concurrent legislative jurisdiction, that the Government of India could pass the Indian Uni-

versities Act in 1904 and could also legislate for the establishment of new universities. Of the new universities established during this period of British India, only one—Lucknow—was established by an Act of the U.P. Legislature. All others—Punjab (1882), Allahabad (1887), Banaras (1915), Patna (1917), Aligarh (1920) and Dacca (1920) were established by the Central Legislature. It was for the same reason that Gokhale could then introduce his Bill for compulsory Primary education in India in the Central legislature, although it failed to pass. In administrative matters, the sanction of the Government of India was needed to the creation of all new posts above a given salary and in 1897, the Indian Educational Service was created and placed in charge of all the important posts in the Provincial Education Departments. In financial matters, the powers reserved to the Central Government were very wide. Its approval was required to all expenditure above a given figure and to the overall budget of the Provinces. These large powers of control and supervision were justified on the ground that the Provincial Governments were responsible to the British Parliament through the Government of India. But whatever the cause, the net result of these powers was to make education not so much a 'provincial subject' as a 'concurrent subject' with two reservations: (1) the authority delegated to the Provincial Governments was fairly large; and (2) the interest shown by the Government of India in education was very uneven and depended mostly upon the personalities of the Governor-Generals—a Ripon or a Curzon—could make education look almost like a 'Central subject' while, at other times, it became almost a 'provincial subject'.

It must also be noted that the interest and authority of the Government of India was not restricted to any particular field, although it naturally showed very great interest in University education. It appointed the Indian Universities Commission of 1917-19. As stated earlier it passed the Indian Universities Act in 1904 and also incorporated most of the new universities created in this field. It sanctioned large grants-in-aid for the improvement of Secondary and Primary education and for the introduction of science teaching. It also reviewed and laid down policies in such matters as the education of girls, or Anglo-Indians and the establishment of schools of art. The Indian Education Commission of 1882 and the Government Resolutions on Educational

Policy issued in 1904 and 1913 covered almost every aspect of education. In short, the view taken in this period was that education is a subject of *national* importance and that the Government of India must hold itself responsible for the formulation of over-all educational policy; and this view was particularly strengthened in the period between 1900 and 1921 because educational developments were intimately connected with the growth of national consciousness and the struggle for Independence. The main function of a federal government in education—to decide national policies in education—was thus clearly understood and accepted during this period.

The need of expert technical advice in education at the Government of India level was also felt during this period and the post of a Director-General of Education—who was to be an educationist and not a civilian and whose duty it was to advise the Government of India on educational matters—was created by Lord Curzon and at the present time, when the very need of an advisory educational service at the Centre is being challenged in certain quarters, it may be worthwhile to recall Lord Curzon's defence of the creation of this post:

'My last topic is the desirability of creating a Director-General of Education in India. Upon this point I will give my opinions for what they may be worth. To understand the case we must first realise what the existing system and its consequences are. Education is at present a sub-heading of the work of the Home Department, already greatly overstrained. When questions of supreme educational interest are referred to us for decision, we have no expert to guide us, no staff trained to the business, nothing but the precedents recorded in our files to fall back upon. In every other department of scientific knowledge—sanitation, hygiene, forestry, minerology, horse-breeding, explosives—the Government possesses expert advisers. In education, the most complex and most momentous of all, we have none. We have to rely upon the opinions of officers who are constantly changing, and who may very likely never have had any experience of education in their lives. Let me point to another anomaly. Under the system of decentralisation that has necessarily and, on the whole, rightly been pursued, we have little idea of what is happening in the provinces, until, once every five years, a gentleman comes round, writes for the Government of India the Quinquen-

nial Review, makes all sorts of discoveries of which we know nothing and discloses shortcomings which in hot haste we then proceed to redress. How and why this systemless system has been allowed to survive for all these years it passes my wit to determine. Now that we realise it, let us put an end to it for ever. I do not desire an Imperial Education Department, packed with pedagogues, and crusted with officialism. I do not advocate a Minister or Member of Council for Education. I do not want anything that will turn the Universities into a Department of the State, or fetter the Colleges or Schools with bureaucratic handcuffs. But I do want some one at headquarters who will prevent the Government of India from going wrong, and who will help us to secure that community of principle and of aim without which we go drifting about like a deserted hulk on chopping seas. I go further, and say that the appointment of such an officer, provided, that he be himself an expert and an enthusiast, will check the perils of narrowness and pedantry, while his custody of the leading principles of Indian Education will prevent those vagaries of policy and sharp revulsions of action which distract our administration without reforming it. He would not issue orders to the local governments; but he would be to advise the Government of India. Exactly the same want was felt in America, where decentralisation and devolution are even more keenly cherished, and had been carried to greater lengths, than here; and it was met by the creation of a Central Bureau of Education in 1867, which has since then done invaluable work in coordinating the heterogeneous application of common principles. It is for consideration whether such an official in India as I have suggested should, from time to time, summon a representative Committee or Conference, so as to keep in touch with the local jurisdictions, and to harmonise our policy as a whole.¹

The creation of this post, and the further creation of a separate Education Department in the Government of India in 1910 and the establishment of a Central Bureau of Education in 1915 made it possible to develop some other federal functions in education. For example, it is the duty of Government of India to collect educational data from the Provinces and to publish periodical reviews on the progress of education in the country—the

¹Lord Curzon in India, Vol. II, pp. 54-6.

Clearing House function. The Indian Education Commission, (1882) recommended that the Central Government should bring out Quinquennial Reviews on the progress of education in India. Consequently, the first Quinquennial Review on the progress of education in India was published in 1886-87 and subsequent reviews were brought out in 1891-92, 1896-97, 1901-02, 1905-06, 1911-12, 1916-17 and 1921-22. Annual reviews of education were also published from 1913-14 onwards in all years in which the Quinquennial Reviews were not published.

Similarly, it is the duty of a Federal Government to carry out studies in educational problems (as part of its responsibility to provide leadership in educational thought) from time to time and to publish their findings. In particular, it is the responsibility of a Federal Government to study such educational developments in other countries as are likely to be of help in developing education at home. That both these responsibilities were understood, accepted and even fulfilled with a great competence in certain areas, can be seen from the publications issued by the Government of India during this period. Moreover, the Government of India also published reports on important events of the period. In short, the research and publications functions of the Federal Government was fully accepted and established during the period under review.

The coordinating function of a Federal Government was also recognised during this period. A reference to that has already been made in the speech of Lord Curzon quoted above. It was he who convened the first Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction in India at Simla in 1901. Then started a regular practice of convening such Conferences for taking a periodical review of educational developments. An Educational Conference was held at Allahabad in 1911 and another Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction was held in 1917. With the passage of time, the need for such coordination was felt all the more keenly and a Central Advisory Board of Education was organised in 1920 with a view to assisting the Provincial Governments with expert advice.

Another function of a Federal Government to be recognised during this period was grant of financial assistance for educational development in the Provinces. Reference has already

been made to the financial decentralisation introduced by Lord Mayo in 1870. That system continued to be in force up to 1876-77 when a system of 'shared revenues' was introduced. Under this system, certain revenues were exclusively designated as 'Central', certain others were designated as exclusively 'Provincial'; and the remainder were designated as 'Divided' and their receipts were shared between the Central and Provincial Governments according to an agreed contract which remained in force for a period of five years at a time. Thus the quinquennial contracts were revised in 1882-83, 1886-87, 1891-92 and 1896-97. In 1904, they were declared to be *quasi-permanent*, i.e. not liable to be changed except in a grave emergency, and in 1912, they were declared as *permanent*. It will thus be seen that, under these financial arrangements, the entire expenditure on education was to be borne by the Provincial Governments within the resources allocated to them.

As may be easily imagined, these arrangements made the Provincial revenue fairly inelastic and they were unable to keep pace with the rapidly growing commitments of an expanding educational system. The Government of India, therefore, started the practice of giving grants-in-aid to Provincial Governments for educational development over and above the agreed contract arrangements. Thus the fifth important function of the Federal Government, viz. *financial assistance*, also came to be accepted during this period. Fortunately, the period between 1900 and 1921 was a period of boom in world finances and the Government of India had large surpluses in its budgets. It was, therefore, comparatively easy to allocate a share of these surpluses to the Provincial Governments for expenditure on education. The magnitude of these grants was fairly large and it may also be stated that most of them were *specific purpose grants*, i.e. it was the Government of India that decided the developmental policies to be adopted and earmarked the grants given for the implementation of specified approved policies. Only a few of these were *general grants* which were at the disposal of the Provincial Governments for expenditure in any manner they liked.

Between 1870 and 1921, therefore, the day-to-day administration of education was delegated to the Provincial Governments and the Government of India continued to function as a Federal Government with five distinct functions which came to be recog-

nised, viz. the functions of (1) policy-making, (2) clearing house of information, (3) research and publications, (4) coordination, and (5) financial assistance.

From 1921 to 1947

With the coming into force of the Government of India Act, 1919, however, the position changed completely. The basic idea underlying this Act was that the Government of India should continue to be responsible to the Secretary of State for India and that the functions of the Provincial Governments should be divided into two parts—the reserved part being responsible to the Government of India and the transferred part being under the control of elected Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures. As a corollary to this decision, it was also agreed that the Government of India should have very little or no control over the transferred departments because the Ministers could not be simultaneously responsible to the Government of India as well as to their elected legislatures. These were basic political decisions and it was rather unfortunate that the division of authority in education between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments had to be made on these political considerations and not on the fundamental educational issues involved. One would have preferred that problems such as the following should have been raised and discussed on this occasion:

- (1) To what extent is education a national problem?
- (2) What should be the role of a Federal Government in education? and
- (3) What should be the relationship between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments in educational matters?

But, unfortunately, all such basic problems were ignored and the only questions discussed from a political angle were the following:

- (1) Should education be transferred subject or not? and
- (2) What should be the control which Government of India should have over education?

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report suggested that the 'guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown

themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur, though serious, would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development."² In pursuance of this principle, it was but natural to expect that education would be classed as a transferred subject, although one does not feel very happy to be told that mistakes in education are not really very important. It was, therefore, decided that, excepting for the following few reservations, education should be a Provincial subject and transferred to the control of the Indian Ministers:

- (1) The Banaras Hindu University and such other new universities as may be declared to be all-India by the Governor-General-in-Council were excluded on the ground that these institutions were of an all-India character and had better be dealt with by the Government of India itself ;
- (2) Colleges for Indian chiefs and educational institutions maintained by the Governor-General-in-Council for the benefit of members of His Majesty's Forces or other public servants, or their children were also excluded on the ground that these institutions ought to be under the direct control of the Government of India ; and
- (3) The education of Anglo-Indians and Europeans was treated as a provincial but a *reserved* subject.

The authority to legislate on the following subjects was reserved for the Central legislature, mainly with a view to enabling the Government of India to take suitable action on the report of the Calcutta University Commission :

- (a) Questions regarding the establishment, constitution and functions of new universities ;
- (b) Questions affecting the jurisdiction of any university outside its province ; and
- (c) Questions regarding the Calcutta University and the reorganisation of Secondary education in Bengal (for a period of five years only after the introduction of the Reforms).

As a corollary to this decision, it was also decided that the Government of India should have no control over education in the Provinces.

Thus came about what the Hartog Committee has rightly

²Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Para 238.

described as the 'divorce' of the Government of India from education. As could easily be imagined, the results were far from happy. The Central interest in education disappeared almost completely after 1921 ; and when the need for retrenchment arose in 1923, the first victims were (1) the Education Department of the Government of India which lost its independent existence and was amalgamated with other departments, (2) the Central Advisory Board of Education which was dissolved and (3) the Central Bureau of Education which was closed down. The Central grants to the Provinces for educational development also disappeared, even the few powers of legislation reserved under the Act of 1919 were not exercised, and the Government of India did little beyond the clearing house function of publishing the annual and quinquennial reviews of the progress of education in India.

The Hartog Committee strongly criticised this unhappy position and said :

'We are of opinion that the divorce of the Government of India from education has been unfortunate; and, holding as we do, the education is essentially a national service, we are of opinion that steps should be taken to consider anew the relation of the Central Government with this subject. We have suggested that the Government of India should serve as a centre of educational experience of the different provinces. But we regard the duties of the Central Government as going beyond that. We cannot accept the view that it should be entirely relieved of all responsibility for the attainment of universal primary education. It may be that some of the provinces, in spite of all efforts, will be unable to provide the funds necessary for that purpose, and the Government of India should, therefore, be constitutionally enabled to make good such financial deficiencies in the interests of India as a whole.'³

It is also interesting to know that, for some time after 1921, there was an outburst of strong provincial feelings and the divorce of the Government of India from education was even welcomed in some quarters. But it did not take the Provincial Governments long to realise that this was a mistake and that something had to be done to create a national agency and machinery for the development of edu-

³ Report, p. 346.

cation. It was, therefore, possible to revise the earlier decision and the Government of India revived the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1935; the Central Bureau of Education was also revived, on a recommendation made by the Central Advisory Board of Education, in 1937; and finally the old Education Department was also revived as a Ministry of Education in 1946. The decisions of 1921 were, therefore, very largely undone by 1947.

Between 1935 and 1947, therefore, the role of the Government of India in education was again broadened and the several functions which had fallen into disuse between 1923 to 1935 were resumed. For example, the coordinating function was resumed with great vigour and the Central Advisory Board of Education addressed itself to the study and discussion of almost every field of educational activity and finally prepared, and presented to the nation, a plan for the educational development in India during the next 40 years (1944). The publication function was also resumed and the reconstituted Central Bureau brought out a large number of publications on different aspects of the educational problem in India. The clearing house function was continued and its extent and efficiency were improved. The only functions developed in the earlier period and not resumed now were two—research and financial assistance. In spite of these limitations, however, the larger and more significant role that was now being played by the Government of India was appreciated all over the country; and the general feeling was that this role needed to be further strengthened and extended.

This brief historical survey of the role of the Government of India in education will show that it has passed through a number of stages. Prior to 1833, it had hardly any role to play; between 1833 and 1870, education was virtually a Central subject; between 1870 and 1921, the day-to-day administration was vested in Provincial Governments, but the Government of India discharged five distinct functions, viz. the functions of policy-making, clearing house of information, research and publications, coordination and financial assistance; between 1921 and 1935, the wheels of the clock were turned back and there was an almost total divorce between education and the Central Government; but fortunately, more progressive policies were adopted after 1935 and the Government of India began to play, once again,

a larger and a more fruitful role in education.

III

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND IN ACTUAL PRACTICE (1950-60)

Soon after the attainment of Independence, the problem of the role of the Government of India in education came up for discussion again when the Constitution was being framed. The thinking of the framers of the Constitution on this subject seems to have been influenced by two main considerations: (1) the general model adopted in the U.S.A.; and (2) the recommendations of the Hartog Committee. As in the U.S.A., therefore, a fundamental decision was taken to treat education as a State subject and also to vest the residuary powers in education in the State Governments by making a specific enumeration of powers reserved to the Government of India in this field. Entry 11 of List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, therefore, lays down that 'education including universities, subject to the provisions of Entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and Entry 25 of List III' should be a State subject; and the entries which give authority to the Government of India in education were worded as follows:

List I—Union List

63. The institutions known at the commencement of this Constitution as the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University, and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.
64. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.
65. Union agencies and institutions for
 - (a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers; or
 - (b) the promotion of special studies or research; or

- (c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.
66. Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for Higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

List III—Concurrent List

25. Vocational and technical training of labour.

In respect of Primary education, however, the Constitution has made an exception on the lines recommended by the Hartog Committee. The intimate relationship between the provision of a minimum of free and compulsory education for all children and the successful working of a democracy which the Constitution decided to create is obvious. The Constitution, therefore, makes the following provision as a directive principle of State policy under Part IV:

‘45. The State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.’

The expression ‘State’ which occurs in this article is defined in Article 12 to include ‘the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India’. The Federal Government is, therefore, under a constitutional obligation to participate in the programme of providing free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.

Similarly, the Constitution also makes it an obligatory responsibility of the Government of India to promote the educational interest of the weaker sections of the people and makes the following provision:

‘46. The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.’

The expression ‘weaker sections of the people’, as used in

this article, is general and is *not* restricted to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes only. For example, it will obviously include women and consequently the development of the education of girls and women becomes a special responsibility of the Government of India. In the same way, the expression also means people living in those areas where economic and cultural development lags behind. This article, therefore, makes it a responsibility of the Government of India to bring about an equalisation of educational opportunities in all parts of the country and, to that end, to give special assistance to the backward areas or States.

There is yet another provision in the Constitution which has an indirect but significant bearing upon the role of Government of India in education. Entry 20 of the List III is ‘Economic and Social Planning’ and this implies that the Government of India has a constitutional responsibility for the economic and social development of the country as a whole. Now, it is a well-known sociological principle that economic and social development is intimately connected with education and it is in this sense that the White Paper on Education in the United Kingdom said : ‘Upon the education given to the children of this country, the future of this country depends.’ It is not a function of the schools to define the objectives of a national economic and social planning although they can, and should, to some extent, direct and influence their definition. But once the objectives of economic and social planning are decided upon by the powers that be, education has a very important role to play in assisting the nation to realise these objectives. For instance, the schools will never be able to decide whether democracy should or should not be a national way of life, whether socialism should or should not be accepted or whether rapid industrialisation should or should not be resorted to. But if the nation were to decide to accept these goals, education will help very greatly in creating and stabilising a social order based on these values by developing the necessary aptitudes, skills and interests in the rising generation. As Brubacher has observed, ‘schools can complete and consolidate a change decided elsewhere—whether by bullets or by ballots’. The implication is obvious: an authority like the Government of India, which is responsible for the economic and social planning of the country, cannot

divest itself of a major responsibility in determining corresponding educational policies to realise its economic and social objectives. In spite of the limited direct authority which the Constitution gives to the Government of India, therefore, practices have actually grown up, as a part of the formulation and implementation of the Five Year Plans of the country, under which the major educational policies are being decided more at the Centre than in the States and the distribution of resources to education in general and to the different sectors of education in particular, is becoming more a matter for a decision at the Central level than at the State levels.

On a very close examination of all the provisions of the Constitution which have a bearing on education, one cannot help the feeling that there is an element of basic contradiction in the role which the Constitution attempts to assign to the Government of India in education. On the one hand, the Constitution takes the simple stand that education, with all residuary powers, is a state subject *except* for a few special aspects, specified within the Constitution itself and reserved for the Government of India. But the real trouble starts when the enumeration of these 'exceptions' begins. For instance, free and compulsory education is made an obvious exception on account of its cost and significance and the Centre is given a specific responsibility for it (Art. 45). Similarly, the responsibility of the Centre to equalise educational opportunities between different areas or different sections of society had also to be recognised and duly provided for (Art. 46). Then the responsibility of the Centre to safeguard the cultural interests of the minorities and to see that they have adequate facilities to receive at least primary education through their own mother tongue (Art. 350 A) as well as the special responsibility of the Centre to develop the national language (Art. 351) had also to be provided for. The need for a controlled development of Higher education made it necessary to authorise the Centre to coordinate and determine standards in universities and scientific, technical, or research institutions (Entry 66 of List I) and, on account of such factors as high cost, difficulty of securing suitable personnel, the need to obtain foreign assistance, etc. scientific research, technical education, and the higher types of professional and vocational education had also to be assigned to the Centre (Entries 64 and 65 of List I). Certain edu-

cational problems which have a large significance at present such as securing of foreign assistance (in men, materials or money) for education, training of Indians abroad, relationship with international organisations like UNESCO, participation in bilateral or multi-lateral programmes of educational assistance like the Commonwealth Cooperation Scheme or the USAID had also to be left to the Centre under Entries 10 and 12 of List I. Finally, a very powerful means of central control was created when 'Economic and Social Planning' was made a concurrent responsibility (Entry 20 of List III). These exceptions are so large that they circumscribe the State authority for education very materially and make education look more like a 'joint' responsibility than like a State preserve. But this is not all. It has to be remembered that the Constitution was out to create a 'strong' Centre. It has, therefore, vested most of the important resources in the Government of India and the result is that no State has adequate resources of its own to develop education—the costliest of welfare services. Consequently the Centre, which controls the purse-strings, necessarily has the most dominating voice in the overall determination of policies, priorities and programmes. From this point of view, therefore, education begins to look, not only as a joint responsibility, but almost like a 'partnership' in which the Government of India plays the role of the 'Big Brother'. This implied constitutional role of the Government of India in education, therefore, is directly opposed to the explicit role as stated in Entry 11 of List II; and it is this basic contradiction inherent in the Constitutional provisions that leads to most of the controversies on the subject.

The situation is further complicated by another consideration. The role of a federal government in education is determined, not so much by the provisions of the Constitution as by conventions and practices evolved through historical developments. Perhaps the finest example of this is the Constitution of the U.S.A. itself. As is well known, the tradition of local control in education is extremely strong in the U.S.A. and both in history and in law, education is specifically a State subject. The country has consequently developed a highly decentralized system of educational administration and it is worthy of note that the federal constitution does not even contain a reference to 'schools' or 'education'. All these factors should tend to make

the role of the U.S. federal government in education extremely weak. But the facts are that federal aid to education is older than the federal constitution; and the present functions and responsibilities of the U.S. federal government in education are far heavier and more important than in several other countries where even the Constitution makes the federal government responsible for education in some way or the other. Today the U.S. Federal Government conducts a U.S. Office of Education which serves as a clearing house of ideas and information. It is also directly responsible for a number of educational programmes such as education for national defence (inclusive of the programme of the schooling of the veterans of the Second World War), cooperation with other nations in a world-wide educational endeavour, education in union territories and the education of the children of federal employees residing in government reservations, in dependencies and at foreign stations. Almost 'every branch of the federal government conducts several educational activities . . . Congress has its Committees on education in both the Houses and the Senate. The Supreme Court renders its interpretations in the form of decisions, as in the Dartmouth College Case, the MacCollum and Zorach decisions on public schools and religious instruction, the opinions on segregations in schools and colleges, and the interpretations on loyalty legislation affecting educators. Independent federal establishments that furnish educational service include the library of the Congress and its Copyright Office, the Government Printing Office, the Pan-American Union, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum, the National Gallery of Art, the National Academy of Sciences, the Commission of Fine Arts, the Atomic Energy Commission and the National Science Foundation. Much educational research is conducted in the Nations' Capital and sponsored by the Congress of the United States'.⁴ In times of national crises, such as the depression of the 1930's, the federal government assisted a number of emergency programmes such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), National Youth Administration (NYA), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and other agencies. It has also assumed certain responsibilities for the education of backward groups like the Red Indians or Negroes. But above all, it has

⁴De Young: *Introduction to American Public Education*, pp. 32-33.

made large funds available for educational development without any idea of imposing federal control in education. As stated above, this tradition of 'federal financial assistance' without 'federal control' is very old and goes back to 1785 while the Constitution itself was ratified in 1788. The first grants to education were in terms of land, but very soon money grants were also introduced. The purposes for which federal grants were or are being given include : (1) agricultural education through the development of land-grant colleges with experimental farms and extension services attached; (2) vocational education in Secondary schools; (3) vocational training in distributive occupations; (4) vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped; (5) vocational guidance and placement, etc. All this, it must be said, is being done when the Constitution does not refer to education at all and the legal basis of all this huge and significant activity is the 'general welfare' clause in the Constitution.⁵ Hardly any other proof is needed to show that it is the historical background, and not the explicit provisions of the Constitution, that ordinarily determine the actual role of a federal government in education.⁶

Assuming this thesis for the sake of argument, the relevant question is : what have been the developments in Indian education since the adoption of the Constitution and how have they affected the constitutional roles of the Government of India and the State Governments in defining and implementing educational policies? In this context, attention may be specially invited to three significant developments. The first is the growing desire to evolve a national system of education for the country as a whole. This desire found an expression as early as 1905 when the Calcutta Congress passed a resolution on national education. It was given a great fillip by Mahatma Gandhi in his Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921. But at this time, the idea was mainly restricted to a few non-official

⁵We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, *promote general welfare*, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

⁶In the Australian Constitution also, Education is left to the States, there being no express power of the Commonwealth in this respect, in the Constitution. The Commonwealth has, however, assumed control over education under its powers of grant-in-aid, and under its powers over Defence, Trade and Commerce—Nicholas, *Australian Constitution*, p. 49

agencies. When the popular Ministries came to power in 1937, the movement also assumed an official form and an attempt was now made to reorientate all educational institutions to the concept of national education. This desire naturally became even stronger when popular Governments came to power both in the Centre and the States. Such a desire obviously implies the assumption of a leading role in the formulation and implementation of educational programmes by the Government of India. The same implication has been further strengthened by the growing realisation of the fact that education has a *national* significance, that it would almost be fatal to the future of the nation to treat it as purely local, that a group of States each of whom is sovereign to decide its own educational policies may even do more harm than good to national solidarity, and that a Central agency to coordinate and develop a national system of education is inevitable in the present conditions when education is generally backward in all parts of the country and very unevenly developed in its different parts. It is this realisation of the national significance of education and the growing desire to create a national system of education that have led to the unprecedented activity of the Government of India in education during the last ten years and, to that extent, diminished the constitutional responsibility of the States for education.

A second development of the period which has also helped to give the Government of India a dominant voice in the formulation of educational policies is the revival of central grants for education to which a reference has already been made. This revival was of course inevitable in the financial and administrative set-up created by the constitution which vests all the best resources in the Centre and makes the States responsible for all the expensive social services. If the surplus resources at the Centre could have been passed to the needy States with little or no controls, the responsibility of the States for the development of education would have been strengthened. But this did not happen. The attempts of the Centre in policy-making often got mixed up with its attempts at financial assistance and thus arose the charge that Central grants are being used as levers to secure acceptance of Central educational policies. That this charge is largely unfounded will be shown later; but

one result of the large Central grants for education has to be admitted : they created a situation in which a very large part of the funds needed for educational development came from the Centre through grant-in-aid. Consequently, the States have tended to lose their spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence and are developing a habit of looking up to Delhi for almost everything.

The third development of this period which undermined the responsibility of the States for education came from outside the educational field, viz. the adoption of centralised planning and the creation of the Planning Commission. In the new technique of planning that has now been adopted, more and more decisions tend to be taken at the Centre than in the States. The decision on national targets, the fixation of priorities, the allocation of resources to different sectors of development or even to different programmes within the same sector of development, the allocation of resources to different States, the fixation of the Central assistance to each State—these and such other problems are mainly decided by the Planning Commission and all these affect educational policies so largely that a State Government is very often required, not to prepare an educational plan, but to fill in the blanks or details of a structure whose broad irrevocable outline has already been decided elsewhere. It is these developments that have contributed most to the trend to centralisation in education during the last ten years and it is because of them that the responsibility of States for education has been most weakened.

It will thus be seen that the inherent contradiction in the constitutional position has been still further accentuated by the developments of the last ten years and the role of the Centre has now become far more important in actual practice than in the cold print of the Constitution. It must also be remembered that these developments are not necessarily to be deplored. They are, in fact, welcomed in several quarters and today, a strong section of opinion in the country favours a proposal to amend the Constitution and to make education a concurrent subject. The lack of adequate leadership which is sometimes conspicuous at the State level and the frequently noticed distortion of State educational policies under immediately political or parochial pressures also tend to emphasise and strengthen this view point.

This equivocal position has given rise to a bitter controversy regarding the correct role of the federal government in education; and as suggested in the opening paragraphs, this problem will have to be satisfactorily solved at an early date.

IV

COMPARATIVE STUDY

The main object of this paper is to discuss the role of the Government of India in education *as it ought to be*. But before taking up this issue, it would be of advantage to make a brief comparative study of the role of the federal government in education in four selected countries—Australia, Canada, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Australia

Of all the countries mentioned above, Australia is an example of the weakest role that a federal government can ever play in education. The reasons for this peculiar situation are purely historical. The States of Australia were founded and grew as independent colonies and it was only as late as in 1901 that the federal government was created. By this time, every State had developed its own educational system and such a strong local sentiment and tradition for education had been created that the people did not think it necessary to invest the federal government with any authority in education. Nay, there was even a feeling that federal control and intervention in education would do great harm; and this explains why the Australian Constitution makes no reference to education and why the federal government took no steps for educational development for several years after its formation. The Australian Council for Educational Research began as a voluntary enterprise with a grant from the Carnegie Foundation; and the first attempts to form a federal agency in education were restricted to periodical meetings of the Directors and Ministers of Education of all the States for the discussion of common problems. In 1943, a Universities Commission was established and its functions were defined as follows: (a) to arrange for the training of ex-soldiers in universities or similar institutions; (b) to assist

students studying in the universities or similar institutions; (c) to advise the Minister with respect to such matters relating to university training and associated matters as are referred to it by the Minister for advice; and (d) to assist other persons in prescribed cases or classes of cases, to obtain training in universities or similar institutions. It is easy to see that this Universities Commission is quite different from the Indian University Grants Commission. In 1945, the Commonwealth Office of Education was established and its functions were listed as follows: (a) to advise the Minister on matters relating to education; (b) to establish and maintain liaison on matters relating to education, with other countries and with the States; (c) to arrange consultation between Commonwealth authorities concerned with matters relating to education; (d) to undertake research relating to education; (e) to provide statistics and information relating to education required by any Commonwealth authority; (f) to advise the Minister concerning the grant of financial assistance to the States and the other authorities for educational purposes; and (g) such other functions in relation to education as are assigned to it by the Minister.

In spite of the general attitude to keep the federal government out of education as far as possible, certain educational functions had to be taken up. For instance, responsibilities for scientific and industrial research had to be assumed by the federal government and the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation was set up with the object of placing 'at the service of producers throughout Australia, both in primary and secondary industries, the highest ability and the most advanced knowledge in order to reduce the cost and increase the volume of production'. As a further development of the same trend, the National Australian University was established at Canberra in 1948. It has been empowered to establish research schools, including a School of Medical Research, a Research School of Physical Science, a Research School of Social Science, and a Research School of Pacific Studies. The University is exclusively engaged in research and the benefit of its work extends to the whole of Australia and all the countries and Island of the Pacific. Similarly the federal government has had to assume responsibility for the education of the Maoris. It has also established one model pre-school centre in each State capital and has taken

upon itself the responsibility to organise a National Fitness programme.

Some explanation is needed about the power of the federal government to give financial assistance. In the first place, the federal government in Australia has the sole power to levy major taxes and the proceeds are distributed to the States on some general principles which have no relationship with the scale of State expenditures. These financial allocations cannot, therefore, be described as 'grants' or 'assistance' in the proper sense of the term. But off and on, the federal government does give grants for some educational purposes from its own resources. For example, grants were given for the establishment of a School for Aeronautical Engineering in the University of Melbourne and a School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine in the University of Sydney. As an aid to the National Fitness programme, the State Grants (Milk for School Children) Act was passed in 1950 and provision was made for supply of milk to children under 13. The scheme is to be administered by the States and the expenditure is to be reimbursed by the federal government.

Canada

The role of the Canadian Federal Government in education is similar to that in Australia with two major differences: (1) the problem of linguistic and religious minorities is acute in Canada and needs special safeguards, and (2) it is more influenced by the developments in the U.S.A.

As is well known, the present Dominion of Canada arose out of a fusion of British and French colonies. The French-speaking people who are mostly Roman Catholics are a minority in the Dominion as a whole but a majority in certain parts such as Quebec and the position of the English-speaking people, who are mostly Protestants, is just the opposite of this. Special safeguards for the interests of minorities had, therefore, to be provided in the federal constitution—the British North America Act of 1867—which lays down that the educational rights enjoyed by the religious minorities prior to their entry into the Dominion shall not be abrogated and, in cases of dispute, provides appeals to the Governor-General-in-Council and to the Privy Council in London. Safeguarding the educational

rights of minorities is thus an essential federal responsibility in Canada.

The federal government in Canada is also constitutionally responsible for the education in the territories, for the education of Red Indians and Eskimos, and for training for national defence. As in Australia, scientific and other research has become a federal responsibility and the 'National Research Council, in conjunction with the national research laboratories in Ottawa, maintains laboratories, offers scholarships to research students, and pays grants-in-aid for investigations conducted at the University level by Provincial Departments of Education'.⁷ As in the U.S.A., Canada also has made large land and money grants for education and assists programmes of vocational and technical education in schools. There is, however, no Federal Ministry or Department of Education, not even an Office of Education as in the U.S.A. or Australia. There is a Dominion Bureau of Statistics which publishes, as one of its multifarious duties, an Annual Survey of Education in Canada. There is also a Canadian Education Association which collects and publishes research studies and generally functions as a clearing house for information and ideas. Recently, the federal government has given financial assistance for increasing staff salaries in universities and it also bears the expenditure on school broadcasts. All things considered, therefore, the general opinion is 'that the part played in education by the Dominion Government in Canada is important, but neither extensive nor expanding'.⁸

The U.S.A.

A reference has already been made to the different activities of the US Federal Government in education and it is, therefore, only necessary to refer briefly here to the modern trends in the US education which will ultimately result in a substantial increase in the federal participation in educational development.

One of the most important modern trends of thinking in the U.S.A. is that education is also a national responsibility and that, whatever justification there may have been for leaving it exclusively to the States in 1788 when the Constitution was framed,

⁷ Cramer and Browne: *Contemporary Education*, p. 145.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

the entire position has to be examined afresh in the light of present day requirements. In fact, it is readily pointed out that the position of exclusively State responsibility for education adopted in 1788 has already become obsolete and that the federal government has, during the last hundred and seventy years, developed a number of very significant and large-scale educational functions to meet the demands of changing times. The most pointed example of this is the recent federal effort to scout for talent in scientific studies and to improve science education when it was realised that the U.S.S.R. was probably outstripping the U.S.A. in the development of science; and it is now urged that the federal role in education will have to be expanded still further if the U.S.A. has to hold her own in the modern world.

Assuming that the federal government shall expand its educational activities, the direction in which this expansion should take place is the next important issue to be discussed in this field. One important area suggested is federal grants for 'general education'—which corresponds to the free and compulsory education visualised in Article 45 of the Indian Constitution—with a view to 'equalising educational opportunities'. In no country of the world has so much research and study been carried out on this problem as in the U.S.A. The work really started with a study of educational facilities provided by the local communities on whom, not very long ago, the entire responsibility for general education was made to rest. It was discovered that the 'educational load' of communities, as shown by the number of children to be educated, varied largely from place to place—rural and agricultural districts generally had more children per 1,000 of population than urban and industrialised districts. Secondly, the 'ability' of the communities to support education, as measured by their taxable capacity also showed large variations and very often, a community with a poor 'ability' to support education was required to carry larger 'educational load'. Thirdly, the 'effort' of the community for education, as measured by the percentage of its taxable capacity raised and devoted to education, also showed large variations; and finally, the educational 'achievements' of the different communities showed extreme variations—some communities providing a very high standard of education to all the children, while others could neither enrol all children nor maintain adequate standards in schools. What

is worse, it was found that several communities made the greatest 'effort' to provide education and yet, either because of poor 'capacity' or heavy 'educational loads' or both, they could only show a poor standard of 'achievement'. Such disparities are increased rather than decreased by the system of 'matching grants' which give more to the rich than to the poor. To remove all these shortcomings and to provide equality of educational opportunity for all children, which is a fundamental need of democracy, the State Governments have given up the idea of grants-in-aid on the basis of matching funds and have adopted a new system of grant-in-aid on the basis of equalisation. The process is complicated but it works out somewhat on the following lines : in the first instance, the State prescribes what is called a 'foundation programme' that is to say, a minimum programme below which no community can be allowed to fall. The programme includes targets for enrolments, teachers' salaries, school buildings, provision of health services (inclusive of school meals) and other contingent expenditures so that it is both a qualitative and a quantitative programme. The second step in the process is to work out the total cost of this programme for each community; and the third step is to determine the 'reasonable' effort which the local community is expected to make. The difference between the total cost of the foundation programme and the reasonable effort expected of the community is then given as an equalisation grant.

These ideas which have now come to stay at the community level are being naturally extended to the State level and studies made so far have shown that the States themselves exhibit wide variation in 'educational loads', in 'abilities', in 'efforts' to support education and in 'achievements'. Consequently, a demand is now being put forward to the effect that 'equalization of educational opportunity' must be accepted as a Federal responsibility. The federal government, it is said, must lay down a minimum foundation programme for all States and must give equalisation grants where necessary on principles similar to those mentioned above. It is also evident that the support for this concept of federal aid to education is rapidly gaining ground and that it is only a matter of time when federal grants for equalisation of educational opportunities would be generally available.

The main argument against this wholesome and urgent reform is the fear that federal aid to education will necessarily be followed by federal control. There are several thinkers who would rather refuse federal aid than have federal control. But an equally strong argument is now being put forward that federal aid can and should be given without federal control. 'According to many fiscal experts,' writes De Young, 'no sound programme of local or state taxation can be devised and established which will support in every community a school system that meets minimum acceptable standards. Time can never efface the inequalities in natural resources that exist between states. Therefore, unless the federal government participates in the financial support of the schools and the related services the less able areas, several million children in the United States and the outlying territories and possessions will continue to be denied the educational opportunities that should be regarded as their birthright. Most recommendations and recent proposals for federal aid stipulate positively that such grants shall not entail federal control over education. They also specify that the money shall be apportioned to the states, except that for cooperative educational research, which shall be administered by the United States Office of Education. Several decades ago Rutherford B. Hayes, then President of the United States, sent to Congress a message in which he said : "No more fundamental responsibility rests upon Congress than that of devising appropriate measures of financial aid to education, supplemental to local action in the States and territories and in the District of Columbia. This challenge has not yet been adequately met. Federal aid to public education is one of the moral 'musts' of America."'⁹

Apart from this major 'equalisation' aid for general education, the following programmes have also been suggested for federal assistance:

- (1) Scholarships and Fellowships in Higher education to be made available to undergraduate, graduate and professional students (scheme to be administered by the States);
- (2) Scholarships for talented youth in Secondary Schools;
- (3) Improvement of teacher education; and
- (4) Educational experimentation and pilot projects.

⁹ De Young: *Introduction to American Public Education*, p. 519.

The U.S.S.R.

The three examples given so far are those of countries which have accepted democracy as a way of life and which also have a federal form of government. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, is a totalitarian state with a federal form of government and it would be interesting to compare the role of the federal government in education under such a system.

There is no federal Ministry of Education in the U.S.S.R. and this may lead one to suppose that the Soviet Union has a decentralised system of education. Nothing can be farther from the truth; and in no country of the world is education so rigidly controlled by a central authority as in the U.S.S.R. This paradox, therefore, needs some explanation and it can be understood only in terms of Soviet philosophy and administrative techniques.

Under communist philosophy, the most important objective in education is to create the 'new Soviet Man' which means a person who is fully imbued with the philosophy of communism and who becomes an efficient and loyal worker of the State in the field to which he may be ultimately assigned. In the Soviet system, therefore, the highest significance is attached to the control of the contents of education and of all the media which influence the thinking of men such as films, radio, television, concert-hall, the theatre, press, books, lecture platform, etc. The determination of the contents of education and the control of all media of communication in such a manner as to produce the one effect desired on the minds of all men becomes, therefore, a responsibility of the highest Soviet authority. It is the authorities at the federal level, therefore, that determine the curricula and methods of instruction to ensure that education is in line with Party and State Policy. Once decided, these curricula and methods are adopted in *every* school in order that a uniform education could be planned and implemented for the nation as a whole. All the different agencies that administer education at lower levels—from the State to the local Soviet—have no control over these fundamental issues and their main responsibility is to provide the necessary facilities to give effect to these Central decisions.

Secondly, the communist philosophy attaches the highest significance to the provision of free and compulsory education for every child and for the provision of Higher education to every

gifted child according to his capacity because it is only under such a system that the new Soviet Man can be created. In the planned and centralised economy of the U.S.S.R., therefore, all the necessary funds required for the educational programme are provided from the common financial pool and then allocated to the different subordinate units. In other words, the federal financial resources of the U.S.S.R. are fully pledged for the support of education and for ensuring equality of educational opportunity for all.

It has also to be remembered that the U.S.S.R. is an example of educational control by a single party. Speaking from a purely technical point of view, it is possible to describe the different levels in Soviet educational administration to which specific functions have been allocated by law. But as the Communist Party alone controls every administrative unit from the lowest to the highest, the entire control of education is centralised in the Communist Party and delegations of administrative authority to lower levels make no difference in this respect.

Subject to these three general observations in which the situation in the U.S.S.R. is not strictly comparable to other countries, the role of the U.S.S.R. federal government in education may be stated as follows:

(a) There is a Union Republic Ministry of Higher Education in Moscow (known briefly as the RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education). It exercises supervisory control, including control of general academic standards over *all* Soviet Higher educational institutions and semi-professional schools. It controls teaching staff, curricula, textbooks, enrolment quotas and the assignment of graduates. The Soviet Universities have no autonomy as we understand it—they are merely departments of the State.

(b) The RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education is also charged with the task of anticipating and meeting *all* needs for manpower in the USSR. In the planned economy that the USSR is trying to build up, it is of the highest importance to train the manpower and to discover the new techniques required for the expanding economy and it is, therefore, an important objective of Soviet Higher education to prepare qualified specialists for all branches of national economy and culture. A very elaborate procedure has also been evolved to discharge this responsibility. Each

Ministry works out its requirements of personnel in precise detail and these form an integral part of its development plan. When the national plan is finalised, therefore, it also includes the total requirements of manpower of all categories and it becomes the main object of the educational plan to train and supply this personnel. This most significant task, as stated above, is mainly entrusted to the RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education.

(c) The RSFSR Ministry of Higher Education also conducts an Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and through it, takes a lead in formulating standard study programmes, working out new procedures, setting up criteria for academic attainment, conducting educational experiments of broadcasting their results, etc.

(d) At the federal level, there is also a RSFSR Ministry of Culture which deals mainly with cultural-educational establishments for adults including those concerned with music, art, drama, movies, ballet, public libraries and lectures, houses of culture, museums, rural clubs, etc. In the democratic countries, recreation is a purely private enterprise. In the USSR, it becomes, in keeping with the communist philosophy, a controlled and significant activity of the State and both its content and method, like those of education, are severely controlled from the federal level.

(e) The USSR federal government also performs the usual non-controversial functions assigned to this level, such as (1) collection of statistics and data and (2) arranging for consultations between State Ministries of Education and co-ordinating their activities. But as may easily be imagined, these consultations do not have much significance. The most effective discussions in policy-making take place at Communist Party Congresses and 'resolutions having significance for the general educational development of the whole country are promulgated by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the USSR Council of Ministers. Such decrees specify, *inter alia*, the types of schools to be established, basic organisation, academic programmes to be followed and general provisions regarding compulsory education'.¹⁰

There are, it is true, a number of other federations in the world. But a detailed examination of education in all or even some of them is not very essential to this study. The four States

¹⁰ U.S. Office of Education: *Education in the U.S.S.R.*, p. 21.

examined here illustrate all the important issues involved and the study of other federations would only repeat them in various combinations.

The foregoing studies show, apart from the general characteristic of federal functions in education and the manner of implementing them, a few other interesting principles useful to an examination of the problem under review. To begin with it may be said that Australia stands at one end of the ladder as having the weakest role in education while USSR stands at the other as having the strongest one while intermediate positions are occupied, in order of an increasingly important role, by Canada and the USA. India, it may be noticed, stands somewhere between the USA and the USSR. Having accepted democracy as a way of life, it would not centralise education under the federal government as has been done in the USSR. The Constitution, therefore, had to adopt a model more in keeping with democratic traditions and it is not surprising that the model of the USA where education is a State subject was selected for the purpose. But no country can solve its problems by mere imitation and the general model of the USA had to be modified on account of three reasons: (1) The American Constitution provides for strong State Governments with residuary powers vested in the States while the Indian Constitution wanted to create a strong Centre with residuary powers vested in the Centre; (2) Education in the USA is fully developed and the States are doing so much for it and so well that the need of federal action does not arise in most matters, while in India education has yet to be developed and the States would not be able to do so unless the Centre played a more prominent role of leadership and assistance; and (3) Allowance had to be made for the conditions peculiar to India and for the fact that the role of the federal government in the USA itself was expanding in certain directions which it would be very advantageous for India to copy. These basic considerations, which appear to have led the framers of the Constitution to deviate from the USA model and to endow the Indian federation with more powers and responsibilities in education, are still applicable and it is quite clear that, in the ultimate solution of the problem, India will be found to be holding a position intermediate between the USA and the USSR.

V

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AS IT IS AND AS IT
OUGHT TO BE

In view of the studies made in the preceding sections—the historical study in Part II and the comparative study in Part IV—it is now possible to take up the thread of the argument where it was left in Part III—the analysis of the contradictions and conflicts in the existing educational role of the government of India—and to discuss how this role could be reorganised in the near future.

When one examines the role which the Constitution assigns to the federal government in education (or the role which it has now come to play in actual practice) and compares it with the role which other federal governments play in education, or even with the role which the Government of India itself played in the earlier years of our history, one can easily conclude that the following activities may be regarded as 'federal functions in education':

- (1) Educational and cultural relations with other countries;
- (2) The clearing house function of collecting and broadcasting ideas and information;
- (3) The coordinating function of harmonising the educational activities of the Centre and the States;
- (4) Education in the Union Territories;
- (5) Scientific research;
- (6) Technical education;
- (7) Propagation, development and enrichment of Hindi;
- (8) Preservation and promotion of national culture inclusive of patronage to national art;
- (9) Patronage to the study of ancient Indian culture in general and the study of Sanskrit in particular;
- (10) Education of the handicapped;
- (11) Promotion and coordination of educational research;
- (12) Special responsibility for the cultural interests of the minorities;
- (13) Responsibility for the weaker sections of the people, i.e. the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
- (14) Responsibility for strengthening national unity through

suitable programmes and particularly through those of emotional integration;

- (15) Grant of scholarships in an attempt to scout for talent, especially at the University stage;
- (16) Advanced professional and vocational training; and
- (17) Maintenance of Central Institutions or agencies for education; and
- (18) Provision of free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years.

These eighteen functions may be broadly divided into two groups—the exclusive and the concurrent. The first four functions obviously fall in the 'exclusive' group since no State Government can perform them. The remaining fourteen functions fall into the 'concurrent' group in the sense that every State Government will have to participate in these programmes both on its own initiative and as an agent of the Government of India; but the over-all responsibility for these matters whose national significance is universally recognised would be on the Government of India.

A few explanatory remarks are perhaps necessary in support of the federal character of these eighteen functions. In so far as *scientific research* and *technical education* (the fifth and sixth functions) are concerned, it may be stated that they have been accepted as federal functions everywhere. In India, the federal responsibility for them is far more significant at the present moment, partly because scientific and Technical education is not adequately developed in the States and partly because a good deal of finance and technical help is being made available by a number of advanced countries to assist educational progress in India. The seventh function, viz. *the development of Hindi*, the national language, is naturally a peculiar and special responsibility of the Government of India. It has hardly any parallels in the western world; but a similar problem has to be faced in Asiatic countries with a multi-lingual population such as Malaya or Philippines. The eighth function, viz. *the preservation and promotion of national culture*, inclusive of patronage to national art, is an important federal function in almost all the countries. In India also, this function was assumed fairly early and its significance has increased very largely in the post-Independence period owing to the disappearance of the Indian Princely

order which was well known for its patronage to art. The ninth function, viz. *the study of ancient Indian culture in general and that of Sanskrit in particular*, also becomes a federal responsibility in India. These studies, which have no immediate utilitarian value, are likely to be pushed to the background in the stress of present day demands and it is, therefore, a duty of the federal government to conserve this heritage of centuries and to pass it on to the successive generations as a source of inspiration.

The Government of India has also had to assume some responsibilities for *the education of handicapped children*, the tenth function. This is both a philosophic and a practical need. The handicapped children are 'a weaker section of the people' and their education and economic improvement thus becomes a responsibility of the federal government under Article 46 of the Constitution; and even from the strictly practical point of view, it would not be feasible and financially worthwhile for every State Government to provide the necessary trained personnel and costly equipment required for the purpose. The decision of the Government of India to enter this field to do some pioneer work and to assist the State Governments and the voluntary organisations working for this cause has, therefore, been generally welcomed. In fact the demand is for a much larger expansion of the federal activities in this sector than what is visualised at present.

The eleventh function, viz. *the promotion and coordination of educational research* is a federal function in Australia and the U.S.S.R. but not in the U.S.A. or Canada where well-organised non-official agencies attend to it. But in the peculiar conditions of India at present, this has to be a federal function. Hardly any effort has been made so far to set up Research Bureaux in the State Education Departments or to develop strong centres for research in the training colleges or University Departments of Education. Very little has been done to collect data on the research that is going on and still less of it is being published. There is not a single journal in the country devoted to educational research and hardly any measures are being taken to count for research talent and to develop research techniques in education. Since the formulation of correct and progressive policies depends very largely on the development of research, it goes without saying that this function would have to receive much more attention

in the near future than it has ever had in the past and that early measures will have to be taken to remedy all the deficiencies pointed out above. It is only a vigorous central action in this sector that can achieve these objectives.

With regard to the twelfth function, viz. *the special responsibility for the cultural interests of the minorities*, reference has already been made to the Canadian Constitution where the federal government is specially charged with the responsibility of protecting the educational and cultural interests of the minorities. In India, the position is even more difficult than in Canada which has to deal with only two sub-sects of a religion and only two languages. The protection of the cultural and educational interests of the minorities is, therefore, a very important responsibility of the Government of India and the success of our democracy will very largely depend upon the extent and the manner in which this function is discharged and confidence is created in the minds of the minorities concerned.

The Constitution already provides certain safeguards for the cultural and educational interests of minorities. For instance, Article 29(1) guarantees that any section of the citizens having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. Article 30(1) gives the minorities, whether based on religion or language, the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, and clause (2) of the same Article further provides that such institutions shall not be discriminated against in respect of grant-in-aid on the only ground that they are under the management of a minority. Article 29(2) provides that no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. Article 350A directs that it shall be the endeavour of every State and every local authority to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the Primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and Article 350B provides for the appointment of a Special Officer for linguistic minorities with the specific object of investigating into all matters relating to safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the Constitution.

While these provisions are generally welcomed, a common criticism is that they are not adequate and that some additional

measures are necessary. For instance, it has been suggested that the educational institutions conducted by linguistic minorities at the Primary stage of education should have a right to receive grant-in-aid from State funds, at least to the extent of the expenditure per pupil incurred by the State Government concerned for its own primary schools. It has also been claimed that the educational interests of the linguistic minorities at other stages of education need some special consideration which is not given at present. It has further been suggested that it is the responsibility of the Government of India to maintain, in all parts of the country, a sufficient number of institutions of Higher education teaching through the medium of Hindi or English in order to provide for the educational interests of the children of its own employees who are liable to be transferred to any part of the Union and also for the legitimate protection of the educational interests of small and scattered linguistic minorities. The whole problem is delicate and difficult and it is not possible to suggest any simple and clear-cut solution to it, but the need for the exercise of vigilance by the federal government in this regard is obvious.

The thirteenth function refers to the federal responsibility for the *education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*. Under Article 46 of the Constitution, the Government of India is responsible for the economic and educational development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and, as has been pointed out earlier, similar responsibilities have been adopted by other federal governments also—the Federal Government in the U.S.A. having special responsibility for Red Indians and Negroes, in Australia for Maoris and in Canada for Red Indians and Eskimos. Under the present set-up, this responsibility has been vested in the Ministry of Home Affairs which is assisted, in its turn, by all the Ministries of the Government of India, wherever necessary. The Ministry of Education has thus to look after the problems of education of these weaker sections of the community; and the Ministry of Home Affairs has made it clear time and again, that it looks forward to the Ministry of Education for guidance in all technical aspects of education and every now and then, references regarding special intricate problems in this sector are made to the Ministry.

The fourteenth function refers to the *federal responsibility for strengthening national unity*. One of the most important problems

which faces the country at present is to strengthen the ties of national unity through programmes of emotional integration and to negative the fissiparous tendencies which have become so prominent, especially after the reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis. This responsibility is so fundamental to the very existence of democracy and the defence of our freedom that it is hardly necessary to emphasise it. But unfortunately, very little is being done at present in this sector. The basic responsibilities in this programme will have to be that of the Government of India and the State Governments will have to cooperate whole-heartedly in their implementation. This is, therefore, an area where a good deal of fundamental thinking and intensive effort is immediately called for.

The fifteenth function is the provision of *scholarships*. One of the principal purposes underlying educational development is social justice and the provision of equality of educational opportunity for all. A liberal scheme of scholarships to help the talented and poor children thus becomes a very significant programme in educational reconstruction. Obviously, such a programme will have to be implemented jointly by the Government of India and the State Governments. The Federal Government admittedly has a special responsibility for the institution of scholarships at the University stage; but it is also argued that, unless an adequate provision for scholarships is made at the Secondary stage, poor and deserving children would never be able to qualify themselves for University admission. Both in the first and in the second Plans, very little has been done in this sector. It is, however, obvious that, for several years to come, this would be an important programme of educational reconstruction. The Government of India would have to play a leading part in its implementation by helping in the determination of right policies and by providing necessary financial assistance to State Governments.

The sixteenth function refers to *advanced professional and vocational training*. Under Entry 65(a) of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, the Federal Government is authorised to set up agencies and institutions for professional, vocational or technical training. Obviously, the State Governments are also competent to set up such institutions under Entry 11 of List II of the same schedule. It is, therefore, necessary to draw a dividing

line between the Federal and State functions in this respect. If Entry 65(a) of List I is literally interpreted, it may be made to cover any course of professional, vocational or technical training from tailoring class at one end to a post-graduate course for plant pathologists at the other. But obviously, this is not the intention of the Constitution. It should be assumed that the State Governments would make all the necessary provision for professional and vocational education; but there are advanced courses of professional and vocational education which are very costly and which could not possibly be provided by every State. It is in this sector that the Government of India has a special role to play by providing such *advanced* courses as would be needed by the country in general or by more than one State in particular. Another objective for the organisation of such courses would be to develop the highest type of professional and vocational education within the country itself and, to that extent, to reduce the necessity of sending students abroad for higher education.

The seventeenth function refers to *the establishment of Union institutions and agencies for education*. The federal government is required to establish and maintain educational institutions for a number of reasons. For instance, educational institutions have to be maintained for employees of the Central Government. They have also to be maintained in important commercial undertakings of the Government of India in order to meet the requirements of the population of the new towns which have been established for such undertakings. Military cantonments which are under the control of the Government of India are also required to maintain educational institutions, not only for defence personnel, but also for the general population living in cantonment areas. Apart from such special purposes, it is also the responsibility of the Centre to conduct educational institutions with two definite objectives: (1) to serve as experimental institutions in comparatively neglected or more significant fields; and (2) to cater to the needs of more than one State or for the country as a whole.

The eighteenth function refers to the *provision of free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14 years* as directed in Article 45 of the Constitution. If this Article is read with Article 12 of the Constitution, it will be evident that the

provision of universal, free and compulsory Primary education is a joint responsibility of the Government of India, the State Governments and the local authorities. The role of the Government of India would obviously be restricted to the formulation of national targets to be reached, to the grant of financial assistance to State Governments for implementing this programme and to the maintenance of an equal standard of attainment, both in quantity and quality, in all parts of the country. The role of the State Governments would mainly be restricted to the provision of teachers, their training, and supervision. The local authorities will have to take responsibility for all the expenditure on the remaining items and will have to implement the programme satisfactorily with the help of grants-in-aid from the State Governments. Just as the grants-in-aid given by the Centre to the State Governments will have to be based on the principle of equalisation, the grants-in-aid given by the State Government to the local authorities also will have to be passed on the same principle. In other words, the grants-in-aid to richer local authorities would be proportionately less and those to the poorer local authorities would be proportionately greater.

The eighteen functions of the federal government in education discussed so far may be regarded as fairly non-controversial. The first four functions, as stated earlier, belong exclusively to the federal government and there can be no controversy about them. The remaining fourteen functions fall into the concurrent group. But it is universally agreed that the federal government has some responsibility with regard to each one of them, although there might be some slight difference of opinion regarding the extent and nature of such role.

Over and above these eighteen functions, however, there are three other functions which are very important and which, at present, have become highly controversial, viz. (i) the education of women, (ii) policy-making and (iii) financial assistance. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss them in some detail.

Education of Women

The National Committee on Women's Education, it may be recalled, has recommended that the Government of India should assume a *transitional* special responsibility for this subject until

the existing wide gap between the education of boys and girls is materially bridged. In the opinion of the Committee, women come under the expression 'weaker section of the people' used in Article 46 of the Constitution. The Backward Classes' Commission set up by the Government of India also recommended that women should be regarded as 'backward classes' and this strengthens the claim of treating their education as a responsibility of the Government of India under Article 46. The Committee has also put forward another strong argument in favour of its proposal. The Government of India admittedly has a special responsibility for providing free and compulsory education up to the age of 14. This responsibility is not being implemented at present mainly because the education of girls has lagged behind that of boys; and the Committee, therefore, claims that the responsibility of the Government of India under Article 45 cannot be fulfilled unless it also assumes some special responsibilities for the education of girls.

Those who do not accept this view argue that, under the proposal made by the Committee, education becomes almost a central subject. Since women form about half of the total population, the State Governments would be deprived of 50 per cent of their responsibility if the education of girls becomes a special responsibility of the Centre; and if the other sectors for which the Government of India is also responsible are taken into consideration, the responsibilities of the Government of India would be far larger than those of the State Governments themselves. Secondly, it is also argued that it will not be possible for the Government of India to discharge this responsibility to any extent unless the willing and enthusiastic cooperation of the State Governments is obtained by making them constitutionally responsible for the programme and providing them with the necessary financial assistance.

The only logical conclusion under these circumstances seems to be that the responsibility of the Government of India for the education of girls should cover, not the *entire* programme for the education of girls, but only the small quantum of a *special* programme which is needed to give it a fillip. Even the special programmes should not be directly implemented by the Centre. They should rather be included in the 'Centrally sponsored' sector under which the programmes are planned by the State Govern-

ments on the lines of some general principles laid down by the Centre and also implemented by them through their own agencies. The provision for their expenditure, however, is made in the Central sector and the funds are made available to State Governments on a 100 per cent basis, outside their plans and ceilings. If such a clear-cut policy is defined and adopted, even the States would welcome it; and it would obviously go a very long way in expediting the programmes of Women's education, particularly in the backward States.

Policy-making Function

The policy-making function of the Federal Government in education has now become one of the most controversial issues in education. Under entry 66 of List I the Government of India is required to coordinate and maintain standards in University education. Obviously therefore, it does get a right to make policy decisions in University education and these will be binding upon State Governments under Article 257(i) of the Constitution which lays down that the executive power of the State Government shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive power of the Union. Should any State Government not accept these decisions, it would be open to the Government of India to take action under the same Article which also authorises the Union to give such directions to a State Government as may appear to be necessary for this purpose. But what about policy-making in Secondary or Primary education, or in fields which are not specifically covered by Entries in List I of the Seventh Schedule? From the strictly legal point of view, it can be argued that the Government of India has no authority to make any policy decisions in these sectors and that even if it did make any policy decisions, they cannot be enforced against the State Governments under Article 257(i) of the Constitution. Of course, it is possible to argue that the standards of University education are dependent on those in Secondary education and that the standards in Secondary education are, in their turn, dependent on those in Primary education and to deduce therefrom that the Government of India can also take policy decisions in the fields of Primary and Secondary education. Such an interpretation appears to be plausible; but one cannot say how the Courts would react to it if it is challenged.

At best, it appears to be slippery position on which it would be dangerous to take a firm stand.

It is true that the Government of India has been taking decisions in all fields of education in the post-independence period and these decisions are mostly being accepted by State Governments. This result, however, is accidental and is due to two extraneous circumstances: (1) the political fact that the same party is in power at the Centre and the States and (2) the financial fact that most of these decisions have been sugarcoated with liberal financial assistance. But it would be wrong to assume that this political situation will always continue and it would be equally difficult to justify the use of financial pressures for inducing States to accept policies which they would not otherwise have agreed to. The present constitutional position, therefore, presents an impasse. On the one hand, education must be treated as a whole and it is neither possible nor desirable to break it up into two compartments—University education and other sectors. On the other hand, Central Government has only a limited authority for making policy decisions in the sector of University education while it is not at all empowered to take any policy decisions in other fields; and even if it were to take any such decision, it does not have the legal authority to enforce it against the State Governments.

What is the way out of this impasse? Three suggestions are being put forward and discussed in this context. The first and the most radical suggestion is to amend the Constitution and to make education a 'concurrent' subject. In support of this view, a number of weighty arguments are put forward and although some of these have been briefly referred to in the earlier discussion, it may still be desirable to sum up the whole case here. It is argued, for example, that the 'economic and social planning' for which the Union is primarily responsible cannot be attempted successfully unless the Centre is also empowered to plan education. Secondly, it is claimed that educational policy is a *national* rather than a State or local concern and that, although the administration of education may be left to the States and local authorities, the major decisions of State policy must be taken by the Centre. Thirdly, it is pointed out that the Directive contained in Article 45 of the Constitution implies that the provision of free and compulsory education is a joint responsibility

and that the Centre will not be in a position to play its role in this sector unless it has also the authority to take policy decisions in Primary education and to compel the State Governments, if necessary, to adopt them. Fourthly, it is pointed out that it is a fundamental responsibility of the Centre to maintain an equal standard of social services in all parts of the country and as education is the most significant of all social services, the Centre will have to provide an equality of educational opportunity for *all* children in the country. This can only be done if education is amenable to Central planning and control. Fifthly it is pointed out that the educational leadership available in the States is often below par and, as no chain can be stronger than its weakest link, the Centre must often provide effective leadership from above—a function which can hardly be discharged satisfactorily unless it is empowered adequately to deal with recalcitrant cases; and finally, it is pointed out that the Centre is responsible to Parliament for all the funds it gives to State Governments for educational development and that it cannot really be answerable to Parliament in this behalf unless it also has the authority to take firm policy decisions and to implement them. The burden of the song is, therefore, clear: amend the Constitution and make education a concurrent subject. It must also be stated that there is a fairly large support for this view and in almost every Parliament session, the notice of a resolution to this effect is given by some member or the other.

As against this extreme view in one direction, there is a second group of thinkers who would prefer to go to an extreme in the other direction. They suggest that education is and should be a State subject and that the modern trend towards centralisation must be resisted as forcefully as possible in the larger interests of the country. They demand decentralisation in general—even in planning—on grounds of democracy and warn that centralisation, which brings some immediate gains, is extremely harmful in the long run because it saps the self-confidence, initiative, responsibility and even the competence of State Governments. In their view, a still greater need for decentralisation in education is the possibility it affords to every linguistic minority to preserve its own culture and to progress in its own way. It is also argued that the varied mosaic pattern which Indian culture has evolved through centuries past can be preserved only if State

Governments have real authority over education and that it can be destroyed in no time under a centralised control of education which would always tend to introduce dead uniformity. It is further urged that centralisation of education would make it increasingly bureaucratic and thus deprive it of the healthy direct contact with the public. This group of thinkers, therefore, would not only preserve the sovereign authority which State Governments have over education at present, but they would even go a step further and cut at the very root of all trends of centralisation by abolishing the Ministry of Education itself or by constituting a single small ministry for all social welfare services.

Between these two extreme views—one of which is close to Australia and the other to the U.S.S.R.—there is a third view which represents the latest thought on this subject in the U.S.A. and which may also be regarded as the ‘golden mean’—proposal of reform. According to this view, centralisation of educational authority—and this is exactly what all the talk of making education a concurrent subject really means—is definitely harmful while a weak or inactive Centre is hardly better than cultural anarchy. What this group of thinkers recommends, therefore, is that the federal government should provide a strong and competent leadership of a ‘stimulating but non-coercive character’. This Central leadership in education is to be provided in three ways—in ideas, in personnel, and in programmes.

- (a) The leadership in ideas is provided in two ways—through the development of research and through the coordinating and clearing house functions which crossfertilise educational thinking by making known the good work done in one area of the country to the remaining areas.
- (b) The leadership in personnel is generally provided in three ways—the maintenance of an advisory service, the training of educational administrators, and experimental work in the training of teachers. It is a fundamental responsibility of the Centre to scout for talent and to maintain an advisory service of the best people available in the country and to make them available to State Governments for advice and assistance in all matters. Secondly, it is also a responsibility of the Centre to arrange for advanced professional training in educational administration and to provide for the in-service training of educational

administrators through such programmes as seminars and workshops, special training or refresher courses, deputations for studies in the country or abroad, and production of necessary literature. Thirdly, the federal government has also a responsibility in the attempt to provide better teachers by advising and assisting the State Governments to adopt such measures as improving the remuneration and service conditions of teachers, conduct of experiments in teacher education, etc.

- (c) Finally, the leadership in programmes can be provided through the conduct of pilot or experimental projects.

It is claimed that if the Central Government can thus provide a competent professional leadership through ideas, men and programmes, the willing consent of the State Governments would be secured to whatever common policy the Federal Government desires to adopt and that such persuasion of the States is infinitely better than coercion under a constitutional authority. It is obvious that a conscious adoption of this policy is probably the best course to be followed in India.

Financial Assistance

Then comes another of the most significant federal functions in education, viz. the provision of financial assistance for programmes of expansion and improvement of education. That the federal government must give such assistance is universally admitted; and the task is of special significance in India where the most elastic and productive sources of revenue are vested in the Centre. The main controversies, therefore, relate to two issues—the form and quantum of central financial assistance.

Three main suggestions are put forward in this context. The first is that there should be a large expansion of the Central sector, i.e. the activities directly conducted by the Government of India. This will bring an indirect relief to the State Governments by reducing their financial responsibilities for education and will also assist in improving standards. The second is that there should be an even larger expansion of the Centrally-sponsored sector. This will help the Centre to introduce a national policy in education and also to secure qualitative improvement or progress in desirable directions. The third is the introduction of a separate grant-in-aid for programmes of elementary education.

This aid should be based on the principle of equalisation and cover all expenditure on elementary education—both 'committed' and 'plan'. The problem is a little complicated and, therefore, its details will be examined in a separate paper.

VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the present study, an attempt has been made to examine the various issues concerning the role of the Government of India in Education. The problem was approached from three angles, historically, constitutionally and comparatively.

In the historical survey which covered the period 1773-1950, it was shown that prior to 1833, the Centre had hardly any role to play; between 1833 and 1870 education was virtually a Central subject; between 1870 and 1921, while the day-to-day administration was vested in the provincial governments, the Government of India discharged five distinct functions, viz. (1) policy-making, (2) serving as a clearing house for information, (3) promotion of research and publication of suitable literature, (4) coordination and (5) financial assistance; the years 1921-35 saw a virtual divorce between education and Central Government with disastrous consequences; but more progressive policies were evolved and the Government of India again began to play a more leading role after 1935.

In the next section, the Constitutional provisions relating to education were subjected to a close examination and it was shown that the present position is somewhat anomalous. On the one hand, the Constitution takes the simple stand that education, with all residuary powers, is a State subject; while in a number of important fields such as the provision of educational facilities for children up to the age of 14, the promotion and safeguarding of the cultural interests of the minorities, the need for controlled development of Higher education, etc. education appears to be more of a joint responsibility than an exclusive preserve of the States.

The study of the role of the federal government in education in certain other countries showed that the interest and activities of a federal government are not always guided by the provisions

of the Constitution and that, in many instances, the federal government is taking a very definite and positive interest in the formulation and implementation of educational programmes even in the absence of any constitutional obligation for that purpose. We also saw that this trend is on the increase.

In the concluding section of the study, it was suggested that, without trespassing on the autonomy of the States, the Centre had a useful role to play in evolving suitable educational policies for the country and that in view of the greater elasticity of the Central tax structure it had a very definite responsibility for rendering financial assistance to the States towards the expansion and improvement of educational facilities.

Finally, I would humbly like to state that I am fully aware of the complexity of the issues raised in this paper, that I have had no illusions about the finality of the suggestions made herein. My main object in writing and publishing this paper has been to arouse interest in the discussion of the basic questions relating to the role of the Government of India in education. If this fond hope were to materialise, my labours would be more than adequately rewarded.

CENTRAL ASSISTANCE FOR EDUCATION

THE problem of Central assistance for educational developments, which was always important, will assume far greater significance in the Fourth Plan. On the one hand, size of the total educational effort to be made in the Fourth Plan will be larger than in the first three Plans; on the other, the capacity of the States to raise additional resources will be severely limited, partly because of the large increase in committed expenditure and partly because of the restrictions indirectly imposed upon their tax-raising capacities by the increase in Central taxation. The measure of Central assistance which will have to be given to the States in the Fourth Plan would, therefore, be much larger than in the Third. Moreover, the experience of the first three plans, and particularly of the Third Plan, has shown that the Centre has very little effective control on the manner in which its grants-in-aid for educational development are actually utilised by the States in practice. There is, therefore, a general feeling that the Centre should now control, more effectively than in the past, both the direction and pace of educational development by earmarking Central grants for specific programmes which are of great significance and by creating a suitable machinery to watch over the utilisation of Central grants. The object of this paper is to suggest some concrete proposals regarding the manner in which these two objectives can be secured in the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

HISTORICAL

It may not be out of place to give a brief resume of the pattern of Central financial assistance to State Governments for educational development during the first three Plans.

The First Plan

In the first Five-Year Plan, the system of *specific-purpose grants*

was adopted as a basis of Central aid. This form of grant-in-aid has two unique advantages: (i) It promotes activity on pre-determined lines in desirable sectors of educational development; and (ii) it is also the simplest and the most convenient form of grant-in-aid to administer. From the historical and comparative point of view, also, there was ample justification for this choice. In U.S.A., the earliest federal grants for education were of this type; and even today, all federal grants for education are given for specific purposes. In India, the Despatch of 1854, the first document on grant-in aid, recommended the adoption of the same principle. When Central grants for education were revived on a large-scale between 1900 and 1921, they were also given on the same basis. We, therefore, stand in good company and on firm ground in so far as the choice of this method was concerned.

The actual pattern of Central assistance for schemes included in the State Plans during the first Five-Year Plan is given in Annexure I. It will be seen therefrom that there were as many as sixteen different programmes for which Central financial assistance was made available. The rate of grant-in-aid generally changed from year to year; they also changed from scheme to scheme; and, even within the same scheme, they were different for recurring and non-recurring expenditure. Taken all in all, it was a rather complicated structure which needed a good deal of careful accounting work, both at the Centre and in the States. Administratively, it kept a few officers quite busy and cases involving adjustments of grant-in-aid dragged on for years before a final settlement could take place. It was mainly for these reasons that the pattern of Central assistance for educational development was changed in the second Five-Year Plan.

The Second Plan

Three main changes were made in the second Five Year Plan with regard to the pattern of Central grant-in-aid for educational development.

The first was to simplify the pattern of Central assistance on schemes included in the State Plans. The rate of grant-in-aid was now fixed for the Plan period as a whole and did not change from year to year. Similarly, no difference in rates of grant-in-aid was usually made between the recurring and non-recurring

expenditure of a given scheme. The actual rates of grant-in-aid approved for this Plan period are given in Annexure II.

The second important change introduced was to abandon the system of giving Central grants separately for each scheme included in the State sector. As pointed out earlier, this system, adopted in the first Plan, was found to be administratively very inconvenient. It was, therefore, decided to give Central grants for schemes included in the State plans by grouping them together under four sectors—elementary education, secondary education, higher education and other educational programmes. This simplified the administrative and financial procedures no doubt; but to that extent the power of the Government of India to direct educational development in pre-determined directions was also reduced.

The third important change was to evolve the concept of Centrally-sponsored sector. The programmes included in this sector were selected on the basis of their significance. By and large, it may be said that programmes of high priority, which the Government of India wanted every State to adopt, were included in the Centrally-sponsored sector. A broad outline of each such programme was also finalised by the Centre; but each State had some freedom to modify it, in view of local conditions, subject to approval of the Government of India. Theoretically, it was open to a State Government to accept or to reject a programme included in the Centrally-sponsored sector. But sooner or later, every State Government accepted these programmes for two considerations: (i) the rate of Central grant-in-aid for these programmes was higher than that for State schemes; and (ii) the Central grant-in-aid for these programmes was received outside the State Plan ceilings. The Centrally-sponsored programmes, therefore, generally became 'national programmes' which were in simultaneous operation in all the States.

The pattern of Central assistance on Centrally-sponsored schemes in the second Five-Year Plan is given in Annexure III. It may be pointed out, however, that in the last years of the Plan the matching contribution expected from the State Governments was either considerably reduced or waived altogether so that these programmes came to be almost wholly financed from Central revenues.

The Third Plan

The process of simplification of Central grants-in-aid started in the second Plan was continued further in the third Plan and two major changes were introduced.

The first was to reduce the number of Centrally-sponsored schemes to the minimum. This was advocated on two grounds: (i) the Centrally-sponsored schemes tend to distort the education policy of the State Governments and tempt them to accept even weak schemes by promising larger financial assistance; and (ii) A large Centrally-sponsored sector would undermine the Constitutional responsibility of State Governments for educational development. It was, therefore, decided that the Centrally-sponsored sector should include schemes of research, evaluation or pilot projects or should be related to matters for which the Centre has a Constitutional responsibility. The list of Centrally-sponsored schemes selected finally for the third Plan is given in Annexure IV. For all these schemes, Central assistance was available, on a 100 per cent basis, outside the State Plans.

The second important change made in the third Plan was to give a grant-in-aid for the Plan as a whole, with the object of giving the largest freedom possible to the State Governments to relate their development plans to local conditions. As may be easily anticipated, this decision reduced the authority of the Centre to secure educational development on pre-determined lines almost to a minimum, especially in view of the simultaneous reduction of the Centrally-sponsored sector.

It may be stated that a pattern of financial assistance has been sanctioned, even in the third Five Year Plan, for certain schemes included in the State sector (see Annexure V). It must be pointed out, however, that this pattern does not mean much in actual practice. The Central assistance is given for the plan as a whole and if there is any shortfall in the educational sector, either in individual schemes or in the sector as a whole, the State could always make up for it in other sectors and still claim the entire grant-in-aid promised by the Government of India. In short, under this system, the State Governments have full authority to plan educational development just as they like without any reference to the Centre. They have also lost all interest in grants-in-aid for individual schemes included in the State plans. For

instance, the idea that the scheme of girls' education earns 100 per cent Central assistance does not make any impression on the States who are sure that they will always get the entire promised Central assistance irrespective of what they do or not do for this individual programme. The only thing that matters to the States under the present system is grants under the Centrally-sponsored sector which are given outside the State plans. But, as stated above, this sector has now been reduced to the minimum.

ISSUES AT STAKE

It will be seen from an analysis of the foregoing review of historical developments that a number of significant issues have now arisen with regard to the pattern of Central assistance for educational development in the States and these need an early decision, at any rate before the fourth Five-Year Plan is finalised in 1965-66. These have been briefly stated below:

Central Grants for Educational Expenditure : Plan and Committed

In all the first three plans, Central assistance for educational development has been restricted only to 'Plan' expenditure and there is no direct grant for the 'non-Plan' or 'committed' educational expenditure which is not reflected in the educational plans of the States. It is true that the Finance Commission reviews the entire committed expenditure of the State Governments at the end of each Plan period and allocates larger revenues to them so as to enable them to balance their budgets. In this process, the committed expenditure on education in the States also receives some financial assistance from the Centre. But it is not earmarked. Such a situation has certain disadvantages and there is a group of thinkers who feel that, in so important and fundamental a subject like education, it would be better to provide Central assistance to the States for *all* educational expenditure—both Plan and committed. They point out that the committed expenditure of the States in education is very large—about four times as much as Plan expenditure and that it is growing rapidly from year to year. The principle of Central grants for Plan expenditure alone is, they argue, quite good in the case of projects like irrigation works where, once the project is completed and transferred to the non-Plan sector, there is no addition to recurring expendi-

ture and there is also a recurring income. It may also be good in the case of projects like construction of roads and bridges where the recurring expenditure involved is comparatively meagre. But in programmes like education, where the recurring expenditure is very heavy, a system of Central assistance for Plan expenditure only does not help the State Governments very materially. It is, therefore, recommended that the Central assistance for educational development should be based on both the plan and committed expenditure on education and should be given outside the Central block grant fixed for the Plan as a whole.

Increase in the Central Sector

This suggestion of allowing central group for both plan and committed expenditure is very radical and cuts right across the present system of Central grants to State Governments. Since the chances of such a proposal being accepted are comparatively less, two other suggestions are put forward which will secure the desired results without altering the basis of the present system of Central grants. The first pleads for a very large increase in the Central sector, i.e. in programmes which are directly operated under the Government of India and which are, therefore, planned, implemented and financed exclusively by the Centre. Such an increase of direct Central activity will have two advantages. Firstly, it will provide an indirect financial assistance to the State Governments in the sense that their own responsibility for educational development would be reduced to that extent. The example of the Regional Colleges of Education is an illustration in point. These institutions are established and maintained by the Centre, and to the extent they provide facilities for training in education, the responsibility of the States to provide similar facilities in their own areas is reduced. Moreover, these institutions can also serve as 'leaders' in breaking new ground and maintaining high standards which will ultimately help in raising standards all-round. The programmes implemented under the U.G.C. provide another example. To the extent larger funds are made available to the U.G.C., the liability of the State Governments to spend on higher education is lightened. It is, therefore, suggested that, in the fourth Plan, there should be a very large expansion of the Central sector, particularly in higher education and research so that the State Governments will get an indirect

financial assistance. It may be pointed out, however, that the main argument underlying this programme, is not so much the indirect reduction of the financial responsibilities of the State Governments, but the possibility of raising standards of education through the direct enterprise of the Centre.

Increase of the Centrally-sponsored Sector

The second alternative proposal put forward is to increase the Centrally-sponsored sector very largely. It is readily granted that the existing system of assistance to State Governments (for their committed expenditure through the Finance Commission and for their developmental expenditure, for the Plan as a whole, through the Planning Commission) may continue. This should, it is suggested, be supplemented by a very large Centrally-sponsored sector under which Central grants on a 100 per cent basis would be given to State Governments for specific schemes and outside their Plan ceilings. This plan, it is argued, will have all the advantages of the specific-purpose grants, that is to say, it can secure educational developments on pre-determined lines and assist in the organisation of 'national' programmes of education without interfering with the freedom and autonomy of the States in working out the details of their own educational plans under a Block grant from the Centre.

Third Plan Policies to Go

Before considering merits of these alternative proposals, it is necessary to raise one preliminary issue: why should we not continue the policies adopted in the third Five-Year Plan, with some marginal adjustments, if necessary? A closer examination of the problem will show that this policy will have several undesirable consequences. For instance, under such a policy, it will be hardly possible for the Centre to channelise educational developments in certain desirable directions. The Government of India will have to place the funds at the disposal of State Governments and leave *them* to decide the priorities and details of educational development. As in the past, therefore, the bulk of the resources available will again be utilised for quantitative expansion and the development of quality will again be driven to the wall. This is not because the State Governments do not appreciate the advantages of qualitative improvement; but be-

cause, being nearer to the scene, they are not in a position to resist the demands of expansion which are generated at the local and State levels. For instance, in a democratic set-up of the present type, it is next to impossible for the State Governments to refuse the demands to open new colleges, new secondary schools or new middle or primary schools. They will not be in a position to insist on selective admissions to educational institutions. They will also find it difficult to raise fees or to withdraw any concessions which have once been provided. The States will, therefore, have to be protected against themselves and enabled to provide funds for qualitative improvement, in spite of the immense pressures for quantitative expansion which they, and not the Government of India have, to face. In a system of Central block grants for the Plan as a whole, the quantitative pressures, which are generated at the local and the State levels are allowed to climb up to the Government of India. But fortunately, the Centre is comparatively more immune to these pressures of expansion and can take deliberate steps to preserve quality. This can be done only if Central grants are provided outside the State Plans and are earmarked for these programmes which are vital to qualitative improvement.

The same argument also applies to the short-term and the long-term or the national and the local values in education. Being situated nearer to the field, the States generally tend to emphasise the short-term and local needs of education. On the other hand, the Centre is in a favourable position to attend to the long-term and national needs of education. Under the financial policies adopted in the third Plan, where most of the available funds are placed at the disposal of the State Governments in the form of block grants, the short-term and local interests of education tend to be emphasised in preference to the long-term and the national. If this situation were to continue over a longer interval, the consequences can only be disastrous. It is, therefore, necessary to increase the funds allocated to the Central sector and to provide earmarked funds to State Governments which can be utilised only for the long-term and the national interests of education. Even from this point of view, therefore, it would not be desirable to continue the policies of Central grants-in-aid adopted in the third Plan.

Expansion of the Central Sector

Assuming that the financial policies adopted in the third Plan have to be modified, the question arises: which of the three proposals mentioned above, either separately or in combination, shall we adopt for the fourth Five-Year Plan?

Probably, the least controversial of these proposals is the expansion of the Central sector. The establishment of the U.G.C. and the attempts now being made, through it, to secure a qualitative improvement of higher education are two of the finest achievements of the post-independence period and have met with universal approval. A programme of expanding the sphere of influence of the U.G.C. by placing larger funds at its disposal, for developmental as well as the recurring expenditure, should, therefore, be welcomed in all sectors. In the second and the third Plans, the U.G.C. has not received its due share of financial allocations. In the second Plan, its total allocation was only Rs. 21 crores and in the third Plan, it has received only Rs. 37 crores. In the fourth Plan, it will have to be given a much larger allocation, probably of the order of about Rs. 300 crores. This is of course only a tentative estimate and the exact amount needed will depend upon the type and extent of programmes to be operated. From this point of view, the following suggestions are put forward:

(1) *Assistance to Selected Affiliated Colleges:* Owing to limitations of funds, the assistance of U.G.C. has so far been limited to Universities and their constituent colleges. By and large, it has not been able to improve the conditions in the affiliated colleges to any appreciable extent. The bulk of our university students, however, read in the affiliated colleges. It is, therefore, necessary to extend the influence of the U.G.C. to the affiliated colleges also. For this purpose, it is suggested that, in the fourth Plan, the U.G.C. should be authorised to select, for intensive development, one college in every district. The selection should be made on the basis of the largest potential for growth. A definite blue-print should be prepared of what such a good college should be and these selected institutions should be assisted, through recurring and non-recurring grants, to be developed into good institutions which will not fall below a minimum standard and which will ever try to raise their standards higher. The expenditure needed for this programme may be shared bet-

ween the U.G.C. and the State Governments on an agreed basis. This programme will obviously come as a great relief to the State Governments. It will save them considerable expenditure and yet meet an important need of the present educational situation in their own areas.

(2) *Post-graduate Stage*: At present, the post-graduate stage is limited in capacity, and its qualitative standards leave much to be desired. It is at the post-graduate stage that we create an elite which is not only national but of an international character. It is also the persons coming out of the post-graduate stage that will ultimately determine the standards at the other stages of education, in administration and in all walks of life. The need for expanding the post-graduate stage and of maintaining the highest standards therein is, therefore, paramount. It would, therefore, be very desirable, in the fourth Plan, to place a much larger grant at the disposal of the U.G.C. than in the second or the third Plan and to authorise it to assist the development of post-graduate education, without expecting any matching funds, either from the Universities or the State Governments. The State Governments may be consulted in these programmes because they will have to bear the committed expenditure at the end of the Plan period. But this will not present any difficulty and the decision to expand and improve post-graduate education, at the entire cost of the Centre, will come as a great relief to the strained finances of the State Governments.

(3) *Centres of Advanced Study*: The programme of establishing Centres of Advanced Study which has been started by the U.G.C. is of very great significance. It has to be continued and expanded. It would, therefore, be desirable to take a decision, once and for all, that all expenditure on the Centres of Advanced Study, both developmental and committed, shall continue to be borne by the Centre, through the U.G.C., on a 100 per cent basis. In other words, the financial basis of all the Centres of Advanced Study will be the same as that of the Central Universities. This is the only way in which to maintain a continuity and quality in the programme.

(4) *Assistance to State Universities*: At the moment, the U.G.C. gives grants for committed expenditure only to four Central Universities. It is necessary to extend this principle to selected Departments of State Universities also. The U.G.C.

should have an authority to select Departments of State Universities where the best potential for development exists and to assist them, on a continuing and a 100 per cent basis, for all their expenditure. This will secure qualitative improvement and lessen the burden on the State Governments to a corresponding extent.

(5) *Colleges of Education*: The training of teachers for secondary and elementary schools is of the highest significance. At present, due merely to lack of finances, the U.G.C. is doing very little to help the Colleges of Education to grow. It would be a very great service to education if the necessary funds are placed at the disposal of the U.G.C. in order to enable it to develop a programme of qualitative improvement of University Departments of Education or selected constituent and affiliated training colleges. The details of a programme, which may be developed for this purpose, are given in Annexure VI.

(6) *Scholarships in Higher Education*: One interesting development of the post-independence period is the large programme of scholarships at the post-matriculation stage which has been developed by the Government of India. This began in a humble way with the grant of a few scholarships to the students of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at the university stage. It has since developed into a very big programme under which a scholarship is given to every student of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes at the university stage and more than 60,000 scholarships are thus awarded every year. In addition, the Government of India introduced, in the Third Plan, a scheme of national scholarships, under which about 2,400 scholarships are awarded annually to deserving students and a scheme of loan scholarships, estimated to cost Rs. 9 crores in the Plan period, under which 18,000 loan scholarships are awarded to deserving students every year. There is also a small scheme under which scholarships are given, at the university stage, to deserving children of primary and secondary school teachers. As compared with this large-scale programme of scholarships at the university stage operated upon by the Government of India, the number and amount of scholarships given by the State Governments at the same stage appear to be insignificant. It is, therefore, suggested that it would be better to have a fairly clear-cut division of responsibility in so far as scholarships are concerned: the Govern-

ment of India may assume total and direct responsibility for grant of scholarships at the university stage and the responsibility of the State Governments may be restricted to the grant of scholarships at the elementary and secondary stages only.

The Government of India has already assumed direct responsibility for certain significant educational programmes, such as (1) cultural relations with other countries, (2) programme of exchange scholarships with other countries, (3) development of Hindi and Sanskrit, (4) development of other Indian languages, and (5) development of research. The Central sector will expand as these programmes develop in depth and extent.

Secondary Education

In the field of higher education, the Central sector can easily be expanded through the U.G.C. which is a statutory, autonomous organisation already established and which has been able to secure the goodwill of all concerned, through its programmes developed during the last eight years. In secondary education, however, there is no such organisation. The Central Board of Secondary Education, which has been established recently, is doing a useful job and may help in developing standards in secondary education by affiliating good secondary schools in all parts of the country. The scheme of Central Schools for the Central Government employees, which has been recently initiated and which is proposed to be expanded largely in the near future, will also create a net-work of good secondary schools which might assist in raising standards all-round. But what is needed is a larger programme than either of these. The following proposals are, therefore, made from this point of view:

(1) *A Secondary Grants Commission* may be established, on the lines of the University Grants Commission, for qualitative improvement of secondary education. It should be authorised to select secondary schools and to assist them to raise their standards through grant-in-aid for recurring and capital expenditure. The immediate attempt in the fourth Plan should be to select one secondary school in each Community Development Block and to help it to raise itself to a certain minimum standard. The entire expenditure on this programme, both capital and recurring, may be shared by the Centre and the States on an agreed basis.

(2) *National Council of Educational Research and Training*: This is a Central organisation whose objective is to improve standards of school education. Its programmes and activities may be considerably expanded in the Fourth Five Year Plan.

(3) *Vocational Education*: A major weakness of our system of secondary education is the failure to diversify it adequately and to introduce vocational courses which will prepare students for different walks of life rather than for entrance to universities. Of the total enrolment at the secondary stage, only about 12 per cent is in courses of vocational education. In advanced countries, the vast bulk of students at the secondary stage study in vocational courses. In Germany, for instance, the secondary students taking vocational courses form about 70 per cent of the total enrolment and in Japan, about 60 per cent. The proportion of students at the secondary stage taking vocational courses in India is probably the lowest in the world. For the next three plans, therefore, it is absolutely essential to emphasise the expansion of vocational courses at the secondary stage. It is, therefore, proposed that it would be a very good financial policy for the Government of India to offer grants-in-aid, to State Governments, for the introduction of vocational courses. The grants offered should be fairly liberal and about 3/4th of the expenditure—both recurring and capital—may be shared by the Government of India. This will be in keeping with the policy adopted in U.S.A. where federal grants are available for providing vocational education in secondary schools.

Elementary Education

So far as elementary education is concerned, there is hardly any need for direct Central action.

Expansion of the Centrally-sponsored Sector

The second proposal, namely, to expand the Centrally-sponsored Sector has a slightly different purpose to serve. There is no intention here of developing any programmes under the direct control of the Centre. On the other hand, the essential objective is to identify some crucial programmes which fall within the responsibilities of the States and place earmarked funds at their disposal with a view to enabling them to do justice to these programmes, especially because they generally tend to

suffer in the ordinary course of events. The suggestion, in short, is that educational programmes which have a seed value, a multiplying effect, or a very high potential for qualitative improvement should be identified and placed in the Centrally-sponsored Sector.

An important question to be decided in this context is to identify programmes which can be included in the Centrally-sponsored Sector. In so far as higher education is concerned, it may not be necessary to include any scheme in the Centrally-sponsored sector. On the other hand, the policy with regard to the financing of higher education should be to divide the programme into two sectors only—the Central and the State and to enlarge the Central sector to cover a group of significant programmes as suggested above in paragraph 7. The concept of the Centrally-sponsored sector would, therefore, be applicable only in respect of secondary and elementary education. In this field, the following programmes may be suggested for inclusion in the Centrally-sponsored sector:

- (i) Training of teachers of elementary and secondary schools;
- (ii) Strengthening the teaching of Science at the school stage;
- (iii) Strengthening the teaching of English;
- (iv) Introduction of productive work or teaching of crafts in elementary and secondary schools;
- (v) Introduction of new ideas and programmes such as vocational guidance, examination reform, etc.;
- (vi) Programmes of physical education and school health services (including school meals); and
- (vii) Production of educational literature for children and teachers.

One important administrative issue will arise in this context; how are the funds provided by the Government of India in the Centrally-sponsored Sector to be distributed among the different States? The ideal solution would of course be to ascertain the needs of the programmes included in the Centrally-sponsored Sector separately in each State for the Plan period and to make the entire amount thus determined available to the States. This formula may not, however, work in practice because the total needs of the States for the Centrally-sponsored schemes would be much larger than any funds which the Government of India may be able to provide in the Centrally-sponsored Sector. Some

alternative methods would, therefore, have to be found. One suggestion would be that, of the total funds available in the Centrally-sponsored Sector, 20 per cent should be set aside for special assistance to the less advanced States and the remaining 80 per cent should be distributed among all the States on some equitable basis, such as the total population or enrolment in schools. Alternatively, we may make grants available to the different States on the basis of their needs and their capacity to spend the amount usefully. It is obvious, however, that the problem will not be very difficult of solution and that it would be possible for the Government of India to find out some equitable basis for distribution of grants-in-aid under the Centrally-sponsored Sector.

Elementary Education

Elementary education will continue to be essentially a responsibility of the States and it may not be possible to solve the problems to be faced at this stage by an expansion of the central or the Centrally-sponsored Sectors. The best solution of the problem would, therefore, be to accept the first proposal made above in paragraph 3 and to institute a separate grant for elementary education. This should cover all expenditure on elementary education—both committed and developmental and be given on the basis of equalisation. The problem is rather complicated and is, therefore, dealt with in a separate paper.¹

The main objection that may be raised against these proposals is that they increase considerably the financial liability of the Government of India which will now have to find the finances for (1) a very large and expanded Central Sector, (2) a considerably expanded Centrally-sponsored Sector and (3) an ear-marked specific purpose grant for elementary education to cover all expenditure—both developmental and committed. It may be stated that this is precisely the objective of these proposals. A large increase in the investment on education is needed in the fourth and the subsequent Plans. In the present financial situation, it is obvious that the bulk of this additional investment will have to come from the Government of India. The Kher Committee recommended that the Government of India should spend about

¹ *Financing of Elementary Education in India* by J.P. Naik and E.S. Lawler.

10 per cent of its total budget on education and that the State Governments should spend about 20 per cent of their budget: on education. In so far as this target is concerned, the State Governments, taken together, have risen to the occasion; and, in the State sector, the total public expenditure on education is about 20 per cent of the total revenues of the State Governments. It is true that there is still some scope for expansion, in the sense that not every State Government is spending 20 per cent of its budget on education. But the scope is comparatively limited. On the other hand, the Government of India is now spending only about 3 per cent of its budget on education as against a target of 10 per cent recommended by the Kher Committee. It is, therefore, obvious that much greater effort has to be made by the Centre to finance the educational development in the fourth and the subsequent plans. The above proposals are based on this fundamental assumption and they merely indicate the manner in which the additional resources which the Central Government would now be required to find may be channelised in the best interests of education and the country.

ANNEXURE I

PATTERN OF CENTRAL ASSISTANCE, DURING THE
FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN, FOR EDUCATIONAL
SCHEMES INCLUDED IN THE STATE PLANS

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Ratio of Central Assistance (Recurring)</i>	
Propagation of Hindi	1954-55	66% of approved expenditure on approved schemes.	
	1955-56	66% of approved expenditure on new approved schemes and also the schemes for which central assistance was sanctioned in the year 1954-55 but were not started in that year. 50% of those schemes which were started in 1954-55.	
<i>Elementary (including Basic Education)</i>		<i>Recurring Expenditure</i>	<i>Non-Recurring Expenditure</i>
(i) Post-graduate basic training colleges	1952-53 } 1953-54 }	60%	66%
(ii) Basic Training Colleges	1954-55	50%	66%
(iii) Community Centres	}	1955-56	33½%
(iv) Integrated Library Service			
(v) Janta Colleges			
(vi) Improvement of Primary Schools			
(vii) Pre-primary schools	1952-53 } 1953-54 }	60%	66%
(viii) Urban Basic Schools	1954-55	50%	"
	1955-56	33½%	"

Secondary Education

Development of Schools

(i) Cum-Community Centres	1952-53 } 1953-54 }	60 %	66 %
(ii) Improvement of secondary schools	1954-55	50 %	„
(iii) Improvement of Library Service	1955-56	33½ %	„

Social Education

(i) Training of Social Education Workers	1952-53 } 1953-54 }	60 %	66 %
	1954-55	50 %	„
	1955-56	33½ %	„
(ii) Appointment of District Social Education Organisers	1955-56	50 %	50 %
(iii) Production of Literature	1955-56	50 %	50 %
(iv) Educational unemployed relief scheme	1953-54 } 1954-55 } 1955-56 }	75 % 50 % 25 %	75 % 50 % 25 %

ANNEXURE II

PATTERN OF CENTRAL ASSISTANCE ON STATE SCHEMES IN THE SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Pattern of Assistance</i> <i>(Percentage)</i>
<i>Elementary Education</i>	
(i) Pre-Primary Education	50
(ii) Education of Girls— (a) Basic Schools } (b) Non-Basic Schools }	60
(iii) Basic Education (including Training of Basic Teachers)	60
(iv) Improvement of Salaries of Primary School Teachers	50
(v) Relief to Educated Unemployed and Expansion of Primary Education	100

(vi) Additional Inspectorate	50
(vii) Staff Quarters for Teachers	50
(viii) Other Schemes (Except Scholarships, Administrative Staff/Building)	50

Secondary Education

(i) Conversion of High Schools into Multipurpose Higher Secondary Schools	60
(ii) Conversion of High Schools into Higher Secondary Schools	60
(iii) Training of Teachers for Multipurpose Higher Secondary Schools	60
(iv) Improvement of Teaching Facilities in existing Secondary Schools (Non-Recurring only)	50
(v) Improvement of Teaching Science in existing Secondary Schools (Non-Recurring only)	50
(vi) Improvement of Libraries (Non-Recurring only)	50
(vii) Improvement of Salaries of Secondary School Teachers	50
(viii) Additional Inspectorate	50
(ix) Staff Quarters for Teachers	50
(x) Educational and Vocational Guidance Bureaux	50
(xi) Seminars for Teachers and Inspectors	50
(xii) Other Schemes (except Scholarships, Public Schools and Administrative Staff/Buildings)	50

University Education

Women's Education	50
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Social Education

(i) State District Branch and Children's Libraries	50
(ii) Appointment of District Social Education Organisers	50
(iii) Janta Colleges	50
(iv) Other Schemes (except schemes covered under the programmes of the Ministry of Community Development)	50

Audio-Visual Education

Audio-Visual Education Schemes	50
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<i>Education of the Handicapped</i>		
Schemes for the Education of the Handicapped	50	
<i>Promotion of Hindi</i>		
Schemes for the Promotion of Hindi	60	
<i>Miscellaneous</i>		
Planning and Statistical Units	60	

ANNEXURE III

PATTERN OF CENTRAL ASSISTANCE ON CENTRALLY
SPONSORED SCHEMES IMPLEMENTED THROUGH
THE STATE GOVERNMENTS DURING THE SECOND
FIVE YEAR PLAN

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Pattern of Assistance</i> (Percentage)	
<i>Elementary Education</i>		
(i) Expansion of Girls' Education and Training of Women Teachers	75	
(ii) Post-Basic Schools	100	(Assistance is also given to Voluntary Organisations on 60% basis)
(iii) Organisation of Literary Workshops for the Production of Literature for Children	100	
(iv) Travel Concession to Elementary School Teachers	100	
(v) Pilot Project for improved Science Teaching in Elementary Schools	100	
(vi) Teacher's Training Facilities for Implementing Scheme on Free & Compulsory Education during the Third Plan	100	
(vii) Educational Survey	66½	(The scheme has since been completed)

Secondary Education

Introduction of Agriculture	60	(The scheme has been dropped with effect from 1959-60)
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University and Higher Education

(i) Improvement and Development of Educational Institutions at Collegiate Level (Three-Year Degree Course)	50	(Assistance is also given to Universities)
(ii) Rural Institutes	75 N.R.	(Assistance is given to Voluntary Organisations)

Physical Education and Youth Welfare Activities

(i) Physical Education Training Colleges	100	(Assistance is also given to Voluntary Organisations on 75 per cent basis)
(ii) National Physical Efficiency Drive	50	
(iii) Seminars on Physical Education	50	
(iv) Grants to Vyayamshalas	75	(Subject to a maximum of Rs. 2,500)
(v) Stadia and Guest Houses	50	(Assistance is also given to Voluntary Organisations)
(vi) Labour and Social Service Camps	100	(Assistance is also given to Voluntary Organisations)
(vii) Campus Work Projects	75	

(Voluntary Organisations are also entitled to assistance. Under the scheme assistance is given on the actual cost of these projects without taking into consideration the cost of land and that of skilled and un-skilled labour rendered

by students & teachers and subject to the ceiling prescribed for the different types of projects detailed below:

		Rs.
	(a) Swimming Pool	30,000
	(b) Open Air Theatre	15,000
	(c) Small Stadium	25,000
	(d) Pavilion	10,000
	(e) Recreation Hall-Cum-Auditorium	35,000
	(f) Gymnasium	25,000
	(g) Preparation of 400 Metres Oval Cinder Track	10,000
(viii) Development of Sports and Games—Acquisition of Play Fields	100	(Subject to a maximum of Rs. 5,000)
(ix) Youth Hostels	100	(Subject to a maximum of Rs. 40,000 per Hostel)
(x) Students' Tours	100	(Third Class Railway/Bus fare at students concessional rates)
(xi) Non-Student Youth Clubs	50	(Subject to a maximum of Rs. 5,000)
<i>Social Education</i>		
Organisation of Literary Workshops for the Production of Literature for Neo-Literates	100	
<i>Promotion of Hindi and Sanskrit</i>		
Appointment of Hindi Teachers	60	

ANNEXURE IV

LIST OF CENTRALLY SPONSORED SCHEMES PROPOSED TO BE INCLUDED IN THE THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

Sl. No.	Scheme
A.	<i>Elementary and Basic Education</i>
1.	Pilot Project for the Intensive Development of Primary Education in selected Areas
B.	<i>Secondary Education</i>
2.	Examination Reform—Setting up of State Evaluation Units
3.	Educational and Vocational Guidance Programme for States
4.	Strengthening of Multi-purpose Schools
5.	Loans and Grants for the Construction of Hostels
C.	<i>University and Higher Education</i>
6.	*Rural Higher Education
D.	<i>Physical Education, Sports and Youth Welfare Activities</i>
7.	National Physical Efficiency Drive
8.	Implementation of Syllabuses of Physical Education and Health Education
9.	*Youth Hostels
10.	*Youth Welfare Boards and Committees
11.	Non-Student Youth Clubs and Centres
12.	Holiday Camps
13.	Camp Sites
14.	Children's Museums
15.	Student's Tours
16.	Assistance for Construction of Stadia and Utility Stadia
17.	*Labour and Social Service Camps
18.	*Campus Work Projects

* Grants under the scheme are given to Voluntary Organisations also.

- E. *Development and Propagation of Hindi and Sanskrit Hindi*
19. Appointment of Hindi Teachers
 20. Grants to non-Hindi Speaking States for Propagation of Hindi
 21. Revision of Pay Scales of Hindi Teachers
- Sanskrit*
22. Grants to State Governments
 23. Providing facilities for the Teaching of Sanskrit in Secondary Schools
- F. *Education of the Handicapped*
24. Establishment of the Training Centre for the Adult Deaf
 25. Establishment of Special Employment Offices for the Physically Handicapped
- G. *Evaluation, Research and Publication*
26. Establishment of Evaluation and Research Bureaux in the States

ANNEXURE V

PATTERN OF CENTRAL ASSISTANCE FOR SCHEMES
INCLUDED IN STATE PLANS IN THE THIRD
FIVE YEAR PLAN

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Pattern of assistance</i>
1. Special Schemes relating to girls' education	Grant—100%
2. Teachers' Training	Grant—100%
3. Appointment of Additional teachers for primary schools	Grant—50%
4. Conversion of high schools into higher secondary schools	Grant— 50%
5. Improvement of science teaching in secondary schools	Grant— 75%
6. Scholarships for primary and secondary school students	Grant— 75%
7. Improvements in emoluments of teachers	Grant— 50%

ANNEXURE VI

PROGRAMME FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND SELECTED CONSTITUENT AND AFFILIATED TRAINING COLLEGE

THE original idea in establishing University Departments of Education was that they should become centres of research and assist the country in solving its complex and difficult educational problems. For several reasons, this development has not yet taken place and most University Departments of Education concentrate all their energies on the training of teachers for secondary schools. It is necessary to improve this situation and to develop University Departments of Education (and where these do not exist, selected constituent or affiliated colleges) into really high-level and progressive institutions.

The following programme of action is suggested for this purpose:

(1) About 20 University Departments of Education, one in each State and more than one in the bigger States or in places where there is a good promise of potential growth, should be selected for intensive development.

(2) In each Department, adequate provision should be made for building up a strong programme of research and post-graduate teaching.

(3) Steps should also be taken to develop a composite programme for the training of teachers—both for the elementary and secondary stages—by opening sections for the training of elementary teachers and establishing experimental elementary schools.

(4) Where conditions are favourable, integrated courses of general and professional education should be organised for secondary teachers, on the lines of the courses being developed in the Regional Colleges of Education, by the collaborative effort of the different Faculties of the Universities in Arts and Sciences.

(5) These selected Departments would also organise correspondence courses for the in-service education of teachers.

(6) The programme will need a considerable amount of recurring and capital expenditure and can be operated through the University Grants Commission if adequate funds are placed at its disposal. The details of the costs involved can be worked out only at a later stage after the institutions to be developed are tentatively selected and some outline of their possible development has been determined.

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